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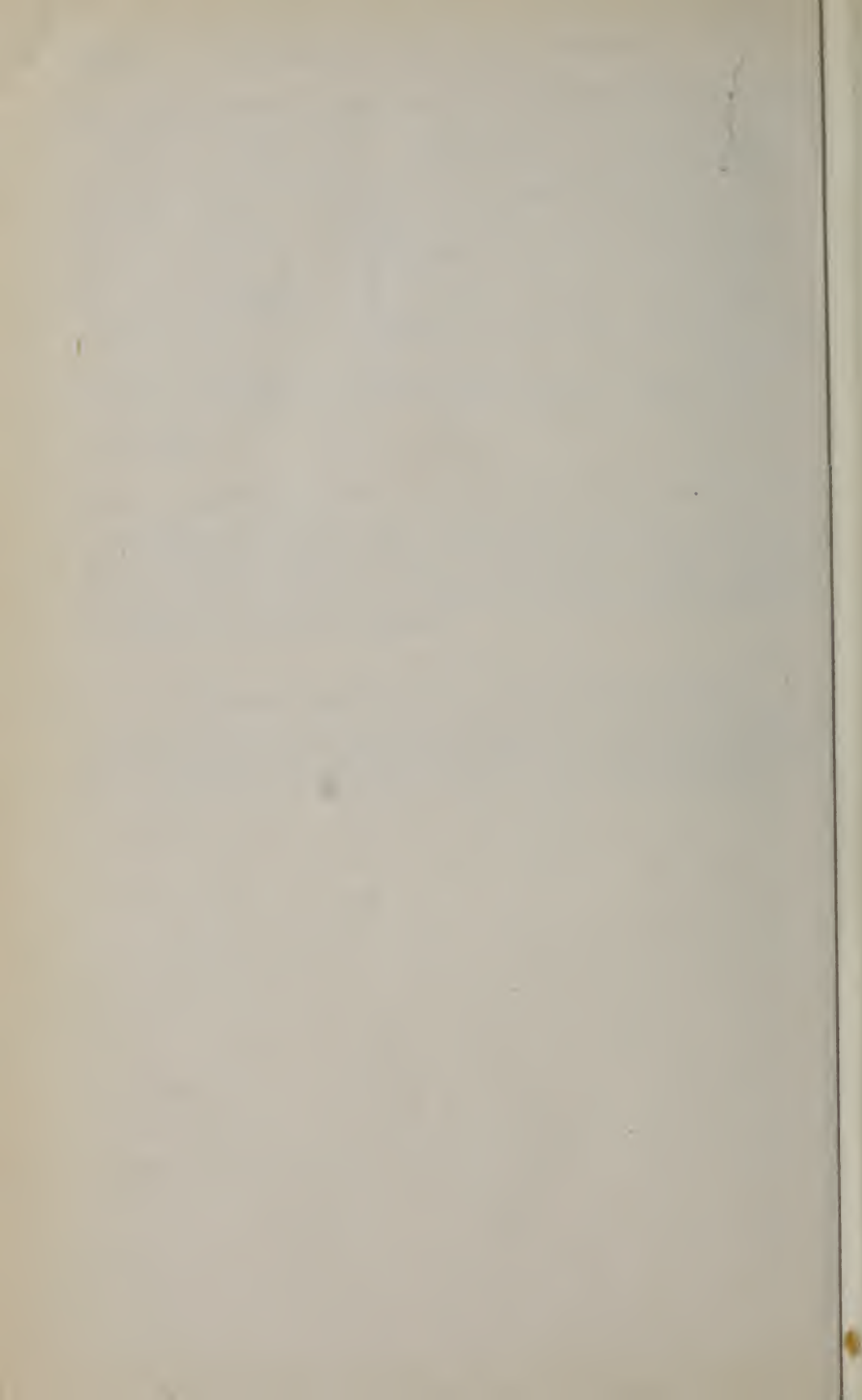
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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

VOLUME 17

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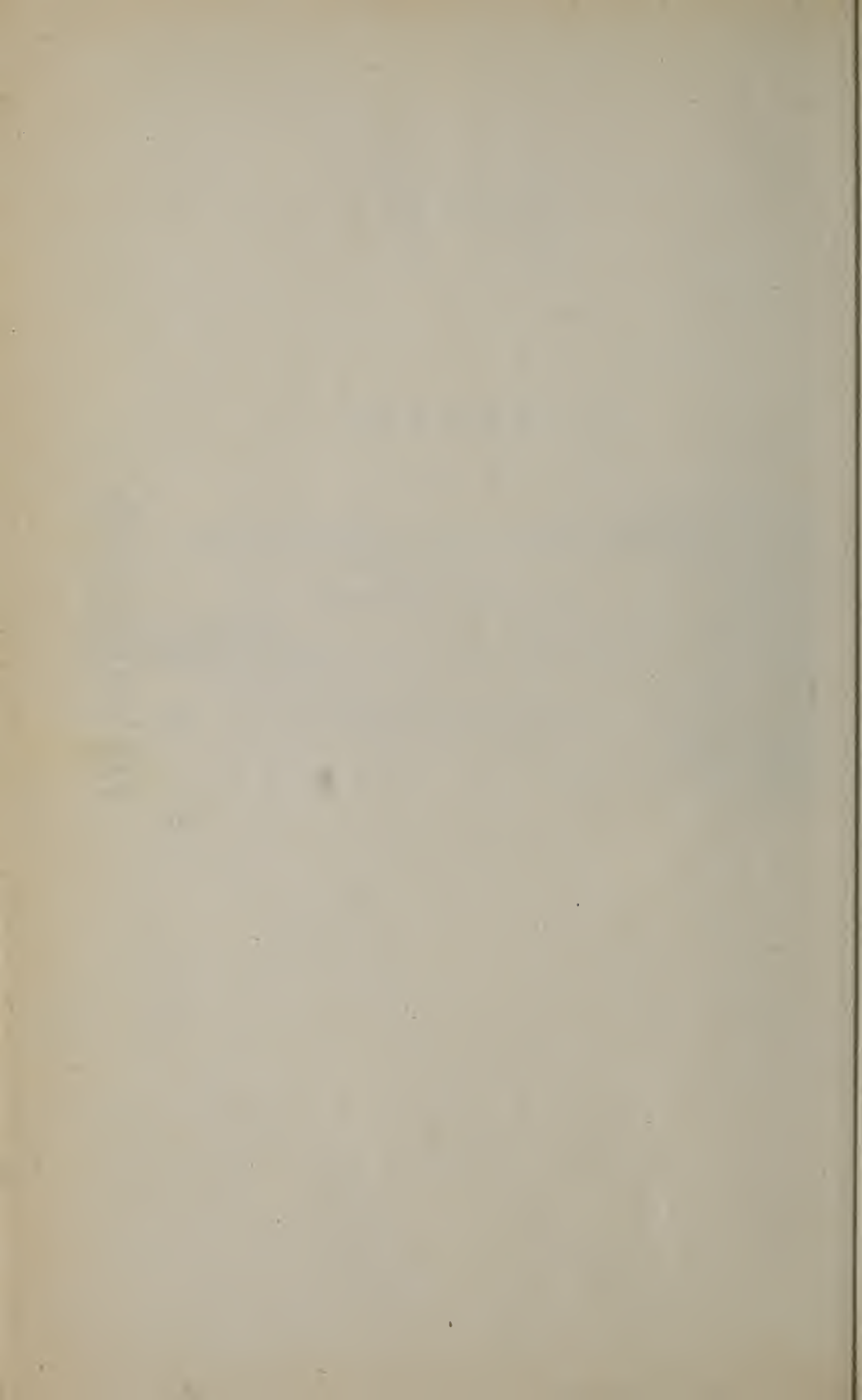
ROBERT E. STRIPLING, *Secretary and Chief Investigator*

J. B. MATTHEWS, *Director of Research*

IVALENE SMITH, *Editor*

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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1944

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. John M. Costello presiding.

Present: Hon. John M. Costello, California; Hon. J. Parnell Thomas, of New Jersey.

Also present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and J. B. Matthews, research director.

Mr. COSTELLO. The committee will be in order. This is a meeting of a subcommittee of the Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities. The subcommittee appointed by Chairman Dies consists of Congressman Joe Starnes of Alabama, who is out of the city at the present time, Congressman Thomas, and myself.

The purpose of the hearing this morning is to inquire further into the activities of the Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee. I believe the evidence gathered by the investigators of this committee definitely shows a tie-up between the Political Action Committee and Communist organizations, or persons representing Communist organizations, throughout the country, and for that reason we have called this hearing in order that this information may be given to the public and the true facts regarding the Political Action Committee may be made known.

As our first witness we are calling Mr. Robert E. Stripling, who is chief investigator for the committee. Mr. Stripling, will you proceed with your statement?

STATEMENT OF ROBERT E. STRIPLING, CHIEF INVESTIGATOR, SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, this committee's investigation of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee began in July 1943, when the P. A. C. was set up by the executive board of the C. I. O. On March 29, 1944, the committee filed a report with the House of Representatives on the P. A. C. which dealt with the origin as well as the Communist affiliations of many of its officers and leaders. Pursuant to the committee's instructions, the investigation of the P. A. C. was continued after the issuance of the March 29 report, and we are now prepared

to present to the committee evidence which makes it clear that the C. I. O. P. A. C. was a byproduct of the Communist Party of the United States, and further, that its program is now being directed and carried on in certain sections of the country by well-known Communist leaders.

Because Mr. Sidney Hillman, chairman of the P. A. C., announced that he would not honor the subpoenas of this committee calling upon his organization to produce the records, the committee's investigation has been somewhat hampered. However, by subpoenaing, among other records, the long-distance toll slips and telegrams of the P. A. C. in various parts of the country, it has been possible to get an insight into the real activities of the organization. The long-distance toll slips and telegrams to which I refer were subpoenaed from the telephone company and the telegraph company and not from the offices of the P. A. C.

On July 24 of this year, as chief investigator of the committee, I filed with the chairman of this committee, Mr. Dies, a report which, in my judgment, contained considerable evidence showing violations of subsection 9-a of the Hatch Act which, as you know, makes it unlawful for certain types of Government employees to engage in political activity or management. The evidence which I submitted and which is now in the possession of the committee disclosed that Government officials and employees were working for and with the P. A. C. while they were on the Government pay roll. The evidence also indicates very strongly that an agency of the Government, namely, the Farm Security Administration is being used as a political weapon by the P. A. C. The report which I filed was accompanied by a chart which had been compiled from the long-distance telephone toll slips which the committee had subpoenaed from the New York Telephone Co.—

Mr. THOMAS. Just a minute there, Mr. Stripling. You say the evidence also indicates very strongly that an agency of the Government, namely, the Farm Security Administration, is being used as a political weapon by the P. A. C. How are you going to submit that evidence?

Mr. STRIPLING. That evidence, Mr. Chairman, is in the nature of, as I have mentioned here, the long-distance toll slips and telegrams, which show a very close relationship between the assistant chairman of the Political Action Committee, Mr. C. B. Baldwin, who was for some time Administrator of the Farm Security Administration. Now, a tabulation of the long-distance telephone calls made from the headquarters of the Political Action Committee in New York to officials of the Farm Security Administration show that Mr. Baldwin was in rather frequent communication with various regional directors, for example, of the Farm Security Administration, particularly during the time of the political primary campaigns. I have in mind, for instance, in Alabama the record shows that Mr. E. F. Morgan, a regional director for that area, with headquarters in Montgomery, Ala., was in practically constant communication with Mr. Baldwin and with officials of the Political Action Committee in New York.

Mr. THOMAS. And Mr. Morgan was employed by the Government at that time?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. He still is employed as regional director at \$7,250 a year. Furthermore, the telephone call slips of the Atlanta

office of the Political Action Committee, which is composed of region 8 of the P. A. C., which is headed by Mr. George S. Mitchell, who was formerly Assistant Administrator of the Farm Security Administration—he is now director for that area of the Political Action Committee, which embraces Alabama—the phone call record shows that Mr. Mitchell was in communication with Mr. Morgan prior to the primary campaign in Alabama?

Mr. THOMAS. Have you subpoenaed Mr. Morgan?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, the committee has instructed that Mr. Morgan be subpoenaed.

Mr. THOMAS. And who paid for these telegrams?

Mr. STRIPLING. According to the record all we have is the calls which were made and paid for by the Political Action Committee. Quite a few of them were made by Mr. Morgan to the Political Action Committee in New York. We have not subpoenaed Mr. Morgan's telephone records or any other individual's—only the Political Action Committee records.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you subpoenaed or do you intend to subpoena Mr. Morgan, himself, before the committee?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. Do you know, Mr. Stripling, to what extent the P. A. C. has borrowed from the Farm Security Administration in order to obtain personnel to staff the Political Action Committee?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. I will get to that a little later in my statement, Mr. Chairman.

The report which I filed was accompanied by a chart which has been compiled from the long-distance telephone toll slips which the committee had subpoenaed from the New York Telephone Co., showing calls made from the national headquarters of the P. A. C., and it revealed that 77 different officials and employees of the Federal Government in some 26 different agencies of the Government had been in communication with the P. A. C.

Mr. THOMAS. Right there, Mr. Stripling, do your records show that any of these calls were made to the White House?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, we have a tabulation showing calls made to the White House from the C. I. O. Political Action Committee in New York, and also from the Political Action Committee headquarters in Chicago. Would you like to examine it?

Mr. THOMAS. Have you the names of the individuals in the White House who were called?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Who are they?

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you like me to give them?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is a total of 17 calls from the Political Action Committee headquarters in New York to David K. Niles over a period from December 1943 through May of this year, at which time the tabulation was made.

There is a total of six calls to Jonathan Daniels during the same period. Mr. Daniels is also an administrative assistant to the President.

There was one call made on May 26 last to Samuel Rosenman, and one call on December 31 to Lowell Mellett. There was one call on June 3 to Ben Cohen, at the White House.

From Chicago there is a record of a call on January 25 from Sidney Hillman, number Andover 3155, which is the Political Action Committee telephone in Chicago, to David K. Niles, at the White House, National 1414. And on January 27, 1944, there is a call from Mr. McKeough to David K. Niles, at the White House. Mr. McKeough is regional director for Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin for the Political Action Committee.

Mr. THOMAS. How about any other section of the country? Do you have that record?

Mr. STRIPLING. The calls have only been subpoenaed, Mr. Chairman, from New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. THOMAS. These 26 agencies of the Government that you mentioned, did you find that any calls were made to either employees or men in the service, in the Army or the War Department?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, there were two calls made to the War Department.

Mr. THOMAS. What were the approximate dates of those calls?

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe, Mr. Chairman, that that tabulation has been sent to the War Department. I do not have it here.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you see that that goes into the record?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, I will.

Mr. COSTELLO. Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Naturally, it is not to be assumed that all of these calls had to do with political activity. I am certain that some of them were business calls and, as such, were quite proper. However, this chart also showed that in the cases of some of the employees, they were in frequent communication back and forth with the officials of the P. A. C., which certainly raises a question as to the possible violation of the Hatch Act. Upon instructions of the committee, all this evidence was made available to the Attorney General. However, to my knowledge, no action has been taken concerning the possible violations of the act.

During the course of this hearing, if the committee desires, I should like to introduce into the record the evidence relative to this phase of the investigation.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Stripling, you say that this matter has been brought to the attention of the Attorney General. In what manner was it brought to the Attorney General's attention?

Mr. STRIPLING. The chairman of the committee, Mr. Dies, wrote the Attorney General a letter on August 14, in which he summarized the evidence and asked that action be taken to determine any violations of the Hatch Act.

Mr. COSTELLO. What reply was received from the Attorney General?

Mr. STRIPLING. The Attorney General replied on August 7, stating that:

I call your attention to the fact that this section is not a criminal statute, and consequently does not come within the investigative or prosecutive jurisdiction of this Department. Punishment for violation of section 9 is administrative, and its enforcement is within the province of the particular Government agency involved.

Mr. COSTELLO. So there is no obligation on the Attorney General to see whether the other agencies of the Government are attempting to enforce the provisions of the Hatch Act?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, we have made considerable study as to the Hatch Act, and Congress did not specifically name who would administer that act. The act reads: "It shall be unlawful," which would ordinarily put it in the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice, but by special decision of Attorney General Jackson he stated that the matter was under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service; however, the Civil Service only has jurisdiction over the so-called classified employees of the Government, which are the civil-service employees. There are independent agencies, for example, who are involved, who would not come under the Civil Service.

Mr. COSTELLO. That would be true of most of the 26 agencies which you referred to above, that have been in communication with the P. A. C.?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right. And you would have this situation: You would be calling upon the departmental heads to discipline an employee, or remove him from his job, for engaging in the very activity which the departmental head himself engaged in.

Mr. COSTELLO. The entire policing of the department is up to the department itself?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is true. With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to insert in the record at this point a copy of the chairman's letter to the Attorney General, and also the Attorney General's reply.

Mr. COSTELLO. Without objection that will be done.
(The letters referred to follow:)

AUGUST 4, 1944.

The Honorable FRANCIS BIDDLE,
Attorney General, Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: I have been authorized by a majority of the members of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities to call to your attention and to make available to you evidence subpoenaed by our committee which involves possible violations of the Hatch Act by Government employees and the Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee.

Since July 1943, when the executive board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations set up the Political Action Committee, we have had that committee under investigation. On March 29, 1944, our committee filed with the House a report on the Political Action Committee, which emphasized the Communist domination of the organization through many of its officers and leaders who had extensive records of Communist activity. The report also brought out the fact that the pattern of the Political Action Committee was cut by the Communist Party of the United States. Since that time the Communist Party has dissolved itself as a political party and has reappeared as the Communist Political Association, merging its activities with those of the Political Action Committee, which, under the leadership of Mr. Sidney Hillman, has taken control of the American Labor Party in New York.

In a communication to Hon. Howard Smith of Virginia, on April 6, 1944, respecting reported violations of the Smith-Connally Act by the Political Action Committee, you adopted the assumption that the Political Action Committee was limiting its activities to its announced objectives—stimulating political consciousness of union members, interesting them in participating in political and community affairs, and instructing them generally on issues such as support of our military effort, maintenance of our social, economic, and legislative standards, the mobilization of our resources, and vigorous prosecution of the war and a sound and progressive post-war program. You informed Congressman Smith in your communication that you had instructed the agents of your Department to look not only for possible violations of the Smith-Connally Act but also for violations of the provisions of the Hatch Act, which limits the amount which may be contributed in connection with an election for a Federal office. I am wondering

why you did not also instruct your agents to look for possible violations of section 9 of the Hatch Act, which makes it unlawful for officials and employees of the administrative branch of the Federal Government to engage in political campaigns and political management.

In pursuing our investigation of the Political Action Committee our committee has subpoenaed certain documentary evidence now in our possession which leaves little doubt that the Political Action Committee is doing precisely what its name implies. It is not using its energies in broad general educational activities, as you assumed, but it is engaged in action—political action, action in primaries, in political conventions, and in general elections. And what it is doing, it is doing in complete collaboration with the Communists and its allied organizations in this country. But, what is more important, there is evidence in our possession which strongly indicates that it is also being done in collaboration with many high officials of the Federal Government.

When Mr. Sidney Hillman, chairman of the Political Action Committee, was subpoenaed by this committee, he announced publicly that he would not produce the records of his organization. We, therefore, set out to pursue our investigation by exercise of the congressional subpoena. We served a subpoena on the New York Telephone Co., calling upon them to produce the long-distance toll slips of the Political Action Committee in New York City. We served a subpoena on the Western Union Telegraph Co. to produce copies of the telegrams sent from the headquarters of the Political Action Committee in New York. Let me emphasize—our committee has not tapped any telephones nor interfered with the free communication of any organization or individual. We have simply followed the procedure used by numerous investigating committees in the past and by the agents of your own Department in obtaining evidence in connection with investigations. Since obtaining these long-distance toll slips and telegrams, our committee staff has coordinated and analyzed their contents, which among other things reveal that there has been frequent communication, by long-distance telephone and telegraph, between the Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee headquarters in New York and 77 different officials and employees of the Federal Government employed in the following agencies of the Government:

White House	Interior Department
Farm Security Administration	National Housing Administration
War Manpower Administration	Department of Justice
Foreign Economic Administration	Department of Agriculture
War Production Board	National Labor Relations Board
Department of Labor	Office of Price Administration
Treasury Department	Office of War Information
Federal Security Agency	Census Bureau
Office of Strategic Services	State Department
Library of Congress	Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Budget	Federal Works Agency
Fair Employment Practice Committee	Smaller War Plants Corporation
Federal Communications Commission	Federal Shipping Administration

The number of calls vary, as, for instance, there is only 1 call to yourself, whereas, in the case of Mr. David K. Niles, administrative assistant to the President, there are 13, and in the case of Mr. Jonathan Daniels, also administrative assistant to the President, there are 6. In the case of Vivien Adele Ford, of the Foreign Economic Administration, there are as many as 27. I am sure that we will all agree that the mere fact that an official or employee of the Federal Government received a call from an organization or an individual in New York is in itself of no particular consequence, but when we consider that the calls were between a political organization engaged in political activity it is only natural that our suspicions should become aroused as to the possible violations of section 9 (a) of the Hatch Act, which, as you know, makes it unlawful for any officer or employee of the executive branches of the Government to engage in political management or in political campaigns. In a number of cases the calls originated with the Government employees. Therefore, we request that you enlarge upon your investigation as reported to Congressman Smith and also instruct your agents to examine the evidence in our possession and investigate the possible violations of section 9 of the Hatch Act which I have referred to. As an example of the possible violations of this act, I should like to call your attention to the case of Mr. C. B. Baldwin, former Administrator of the Farm Security Admin-

istration at \$10,000 a year and now assistant chairman of the Political Action Committee. According to press announcements, Mr. Baldwin assumed his duties with the Political Action Committee in November 1943. The committee has evidence that he was performing these duties as early as December 1943, but yet the personnel office of the Farm Security Administration advised our committee that Mr. Baldwin was on the pay roll of the Farm Security Administration at a salary of \$10,000 per year up until 9 a. m. on April 11, 1944. Since the maximum amount of leave that can be accumulated by a Government employee is 90 days, it would appear that Mr. Baldwin, by remaining on the pay roll of the Government for 4 or 5 months while he was also employed by the Political Action Committee, was violating the Hatch Act.

We have evidence in our possession which shows that Mr. Baldwin has been in frequent communication with officials of the Farm Security Administration in Washington and throughout the country. Some of these calls were to regional directors of the Farm Security Administration in States, and at a time when primary elections were being held. There are also in our files telegrams showing collusion and collaboration between the Political Action Committee and officials of the Farm Security Administration. For instance, on March 1, 1944, Mr. C. B. Baldwin, from Political Action Committee headquarters in New York, wired Mr. P. G. Beck, of the Farm Security Administration, 342 Massachusetts Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind., the following telegram:

MARCH 1, 1944.

Mr. P. G. BECK,
*Farm Security Administration,
342 Massachusetts Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.*

Please have Picard check on qualifications Michael Desmond, formerly employed Columbus Dispatch, now working for the Office of Price Administration in Columbus. He is being considered for work with Kroll in region, largely on publicity program. Appreciate answer collect by noon tomorrow if at all possible.

C. B. BALDWIN.

"Picard," referred to in that telegram, is an employee of the Farm Security Administration at \$4,800 a year, and the "Kroll" referred to is regional director for the Political Action Committee in Ohio, West Virginia, and Kentucky. In other words, this telegram indicates that Mr. Baldwin and the Political Action Committee were using employees of the Farm Security Administration to assist them in the activities of the Political Action Committee.

I should like to call your attention to the case of C. A. McPeak. McPeak was labor representative for the War Production Board in Dallas, Tex., at \$5,600 a year. He is now the director for the State of Texas of the Political Action Committee. While employed for the War Production Board, Mr. McPeak received the following wire, on April 7, 1944, from Tommy Burns, of the Political Action Committee, in New York:

"Mr. Hillman desires that you represent the Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee at the meeting in Dallas April 13 and also at the State Industrial Union Council meeting 14th and 15th. Following that he desires that you make arrangements to be in New York City on April 17."

This wire, couched in terms implying an order, addressed by Hillman to a man paid \$5,600 by the Government to work in Dallas, cannot be misunderstood. It was obeyed. McPeak then left Dallas for New York City April 17 by plane. He arrived in Washington that night and then went to New York as per Hillman's orders. He got an authorization from the War Production Board to make the trip to Washington and we feel sure that an investigation by you will reveal that Government funds were used to make McPeak's trip east in obedience to the call of Sidney Hillman. On April 19, the Political Action Committee paid for a telegram signed by this Government employee from New York to William S. Taylor, head of the Political Action Committee in Port Arthur, Tex., advising that he would attend a meeting in Port Arthur, Tex., the following Sunday. Mr. McPeak drew his Government check at the rate of \$5,600 per annum until May 26, 1944.

The leaders of the Political Action Committee have openly boasted in the public press of the sums of the money they have raised and of the Members of Congress and Senate they have defeated for renomination as punishment for their records offensive to them and their allies. Our committee has obtained ample evidence to show the manner in which the Political Action Committee has interfered, both in the Democratic and Republican primaries, in various States. Information has come to the committee's attention which

indicates that large sums of money have been sent into various States by the Political Action Committee to influence primary elections. We think this matter should be thoroughly investigated to determine whether or not any of the Federal statutes affecting elections have been violated.

In a recent report on the Political Action Committee made to me by the chief investigator of our committee, Mr. Robert E. Stripling, he stated:

"From examining the personnel of the Political Action Committee and considering the constant communication existing between the Political Action Committee and certain government official, I am of the opinion that the Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee is in reality not so much a labor political committee as it is the political arm of the New Deal Administration."

Since Mr. Stripling has reported that to me I have examined the evidence and I find that at least a dozen of the top officials of the Political Action Committee are not persons whose background has been identified with labor but rather they are persons who just resigned from high-salaried jobs from the Federal Government. The evidence in our possession indicates that a number of these former Government employees were very active with the Political Action Committee while still on the Government pay roll. We call on you, therefore, to determine if these former employees violated the provisions of the Hatch Act while on the Government pay roll.

While this communication has emphasized the possible violations of section 9 of the Hatch Act, we should also like to call upon you to continue your investigation as to any possible violation of other provisions of the act and of the Smith-Connally Act which pertain to the expenditures and contributions of money in political campaigns.

The forces now marshaled under the banners of Sidney Hillman and Earl Browder, using at different times different organization names to cloak their activities and skirt the edges of the law, have just recently altered their course by setting up still another organization known as the National Citizens Political Action Committee. We ask that close scrutiny be made of this new organization which has been formed to reinforce the Political Action Committee. This organization, according to its chairman, Sidney Hillman, intends to raise two funds of \$3,000,000 each to support the ticket for President and Vice President in the coming national election. One fund will be raised from Congress of Industrial Organizations members and the other from citizens generally. In this case Hillman and Browder will have at their disposal, by the use of two subsidiary organizations, twice the amount permitted by law to carry on a political campaign.

I have called attention here to the communist alliance of Hillman and the Political Action Committee. I do not mean to infer that these people are to be deprived of their legal rights because they are Communists or affiliated with the Communists. These laws were passed to control Democrats and Republicans as well as other parties. I stress this fact because it would be strange indeed if these radical disturbers were to enjoy immunity not permitted the two great political parties of the Nation. I urge you, therefore, Mr. Attorney General, to give this matter your immediate attention. This political campaign is now in progress. It will be over in a few months. The unlawful acts are being committed now and the bills for these acts are being footed by the people of the country who pay the salaries of the men and women who are defying the law.

On behalf of the committee, I respectfully request, therefore, that you take forthwith whatever measures are necessary to correct these abuses of Government tenure and these violations of our election laws. All of the evidence which our committee has subpoenaed and compiled is available to you or your agents if you will call at the committee's offices in the House Office Building.

Sincerely yours,

_____, *Chairman.*

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., August 7, 1944.

HON. MARTIN DIES,

Chairman, Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This acknowledges receipt of your letter of August 4, 1944, calling to my attention and offering to make available to me information

in the possession of your committee which suggests possible violations of the Hatch Act by Government employees and the Committee for Industrial Organization Political Action Committee.

As you probably know, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Criminal Division of this Department have been actively engaged in an investigation of charges that the election provisions of the Smith-Connally Act, and other Federal election laws, have been violated by the Political Action Committee of the Committee for Industrial Organization and persons associated with it. This investigation is a thorough one and will be continued until we have obtained all the available evidence and can reach a conclusive determination of whether and by whom such violations have been committed. I have instructed the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation immediately to obtain from you any evidence which you may have pertinent to this inquiry.

You ask specifically that I investigate alleged violations of section 9 of the Hatch Act by persons in the Government service. I call your attention to the fact that this section is not a criminal statute, and consequently does not come within the investigative or prosecutive jurisdiction of this Department. Punishment for violation of section 9 is administrative, and its enforcement is within the province of the particular Government agency involved. I am informed that, in cases involving employees in the classified civil service, the investigations are conducted by the Civil Service Commission. I am sending a copy of your letter to the Commission; you may wish, in addition, to submit to it and to the Departments concerned, specific charges or evidence of such violations. In this connection you will have in mind, I am sure, that that law excepts (among others) from its provisions "persons whose compensation is paid from the appropriation for the office of the President; heads and assistant heads of executive Departments; officers who are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who determine policies to be pursued by the United States in its relations with foreign powers or in the Nation-wide administration of Federal laws."

Yours very truly,

_____, *Attorney General.*

Mr. STRIPLING. On June 14, 1944—

Mr. COSTELLO (interposing). One other question before you proceed, Mr. Stripling. The files of the committee have always been available to the investigators for the Attorney General's Office, have they not?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir. As a matter of fact, the Attorney General sent two of his agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the committee's office 4 days after he had written this letter of reply, and all of the evidence was made available to them. In fact, they were permitted to photostat all of the long-distance toll slips which I have here, as well as all of the telegrams, and evidence which they desired.

Mr. THOMAS. Right along that line—and I am prompted to ask this because of an article I saw in a newspaper this morning—was it in 1940 that the House cited three or four persons for contempt, persons who had been witnesses before this committee?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; in 1940 there were a number of officials of the Communist Party who were subpoenaed from various parts of the country, some from Pennsylvania, some from Massachusetts, some from Illinois. At that time, apparently the line of the Communists was to refuse to answer any questions which the committee propounded.

Mr. THOMAS. You reported that to the House and the House cited them for contempt? Is that right?

Mr. STRIPLING. The committee held four of the officials of the Communist Party in contempt. The matter was then certified by the House, by resolution, to the United States Attorney, according to law.

Mr. THOMAS. What has been the result of that action?

Mr. STRIPLING. They were indicted but none of the men has been brought to trial.

Mr. THOMAS. None of them has been brought to trial?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. That was in 1940?

Mr. STRIPLING. In 1940; yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you get a reason from anyone as to why they have not been brought to trial?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. You might inquire of the Attorney General as to the progress that has been made in those particular trials, if you will.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right, sir.

On June 14, 1944, the C. I. O. Political Action Committee changed its name and broadened its scope and became the National Citizens Political Action Committee. This action was taken in order that it might circumvent the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act. Shortly after the formation of this new committee, Mr. Hillman released the names of the 141 individuals who comprised the national committee of the organization. This list has been checked against the files of our committee and another Government agency and it reveals that of the 141 members, over 80 percent have had affiliations with the Communist Party or its front organizations during the past 10 years.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you going to list those individuals in the record?

Mr. STRIPLING. It is the purpose of the committee, Mr. Thomas, that Mr. Matthews, director of research of the committee, give the committee a detailed statement of those records, with full explanation as to each affiliation.

Some of the members of this national committee are well-known members of the Communist Party. Others have followed with strict adherence the Communist Party line throughout its devious course. As a matter of fact, if the committee will examine the detailed record of the 80 percent referred to, which will be submitted in detail in the hearing, you will find that a majority of the members of the N. C. P. A. C. also formed the front names for many of the communist fronts which have been established by the Communists during recent years.

It would ordinarily be assumed that the C. I. O. Political Action Committee was a political organization formed by and for the rank and file of labor in the C. I. O. There is no evidence to support this, however. I should like to direct the committee's attention to the personnel of the national office of the P. A. C. and the background of some of the people who are actually directing and running its activities. They are not individuals whose background is identified with labor but instead are individuals who have just resigned from very lucrative jobs in the Government. Take, for instance, Mr. C. B. Baldwin, the assistant chairman of the P. A. C. Mr. Baldwin, since November, 1943, has been the principal executive officer of the Political Action Committee. Nevertheless, he continued to draw his salary of \$10,000 a year from the Federal Government up until April 11, 1944. Mr. Baldwin, for a number of years, was Administrator of the Farm Security Administration.

Mr. COSTELLO. At the time he was drawing a salary from the Government he was actually in the employ of the Political Action Committee?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is true, Mr. Chairman. Getting back to the telephone chart, in the calls made to the White House, some of those calls were to Mr. Niles; in fact, a number of them were from Mr. Baldwin during the month of December 1943. The press, however, stated that Mr. Baldwin assumed his duties with the Political Action Committee on November 23, 1943.

Mr. COSTELLO. And he was still drawing salary from the Government?

Mr. STRIPLING. He drew his salary from the Government until 9 a. m. April 11, 1944, from the Farm Security Administration.

Mr. COSTELLO. Was that in the form of 90 days' leave of absence or sick leave, or something of that kind?

Mr. STRIPLING. We have been unable to get an explanation from the Farm Security Administration for it. We have asked for it, but they have not furnished it.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ask for it by letter?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. I think you had better write a letter asking for it.

Mr. STRIPLING. The director for the P. A. C. for the State of New York, Miss Charlotte Carr, recently resigned from the War Manpower Commission, where she was employed at \$6,500 a year, to take over her duties with the P. A. C.

On May 20, 1944, Miss Verda Barnes, now director of women's division of the P. A. C., resigned the position of Assistant Director of Information for the War Manpower Commission.

Mr. THOMAS. Right at that point, Mr. Stripling, how do these people get a release from the various important war agencies to become employed or take up new employment with P. A. C.? Have you checked on that?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I talked with the War Manpower Commission concerning the case of Miss Carr and Miss Verda Barnes, who is director of the women's division of P. A. C. and who resigned as Assistant Director of Information for the War Manpower Commission, and they stated they were released because there was not a shortage of workers in the city of New York, where they were to be employed.

Mr. THOMAS. They said there was no shortage in the city of New York?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you bring up the point that there was, just across the river, a tremendous shortage in the war plants just across the river from New York City?

Mr. STRIPLING. It was my understanding, Mr. Thomas, that every Government employee was frozen in his job, and that it was necessary to secure a release.

Mr. THOMAS. Who gave them this release?

Mr. STRIPLING. They resigned. The regulations of the Government, however, state that you must remain unemployed for a period of 60 days before accepting another position, if you resign from the Government.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they do that?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; they did not.

Mr. COSTELLO. It is also necessary to obtain a certificate of availability before they could be employed by the P. A. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, Mr. Chairman, there are quite a number of cases here of people who resigned from various agencies of the Government—for instance, Mr. Joseph Gaer, who resigned from the Treasury, where he was receiving \$6,500 a year as consulting expert of the War Bond Division, which would certainly be considered essential. I asked the Director of Personnel of the Treasury if he had been released, and they stated that he also had resigned. But he immediately went with the Political Action Committee, according to the telephone records.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, if a man was a war worker in a plant he could not resign to go with the Political Action Committee, but an individual working for an important war agency of the Government at a large salary, it was perfectly all right for him to resign?

Mr. STRIPLING. Apparently so.

Mr. COSTELLO. In the course of your investigation did you happen to run across any men who were subject to the Selective Service Act and who resigned in this manner and went with the P. A. C.?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. Did you make a check with that idea in mind?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; I did not. Mr. George S. Mitchell, director for the P. A. C. for nine Southern States, resigned as Assistant Administrator of the Farm Security Administration to go with the P. A. C.

The director for the P. A. C. for Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, Utah, and Arizona, Mr. Amer Lehman, also resigned from the Farm Security Administration to go with P. A. C.

The director for the State of Texas, Mr. C. A. McPeak, resigned a position at \$5,600 a year with the War Production Board to go with P. A. C.

Raymond S. McKeough, P. A. C. director for Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, resigned as regional director of O. P. A. to go with P. A. C.

Joseph Gaer resigned from the Treasury on May 17, 1944, where he was employed as a consulting expert at \$6,500 a year, to go on the research staff of the P. A. C.

Emil Corwin, radio director for the P. A. C., resigned from the Soil Conservation Division of the Department of Agriculture to go with the P. A. C.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you checked the salaries that these people are getting now?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir. There is no way that we can do that, for the reason that the Political Action Committee has announced they would not honor the committee's subpoenas for their records.

Mr. COSTELLO. You are assuming, however, that they are receiving at least as much from the P. A. C. as they were receiving from the Government, if not more?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

Leisa Bronson resigned from the Library of Congress in May of this year to go with the Los Angeles office of the P. A. C.

Ping Ferry resigned as O. P. A. investigator for New Hampshire to become publicity director for the P. A. C.

So far as I know, Mr. Chairman, with the exception of Mr. McPeak, none of the above-mentioned individuals have been identified with the

labor movement, yet they occupy some of the most responsible positions in the P. A. C.

Mr. THOMAS. Before you go on from there, in other words, you are reiterating the statement to the committee earlier, that the P. A. C. really is not the labor movement; it hasn't got anything to do with the labor movement; it is purely a political organization?

Mr. STRIPLING. The most important official of it, Mr. Baldwin, is the man who actually runs the Political Action Committee, according to our investigation. He is executive director.

Mr. THOMAS. That organization is taking advantage of labor.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. And using labor as a dupe to finance the racket?

Mr. STRIPLING. It would certainly appear so, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I will strike out that word "racket."

Mr. STRIPLING. The committee recently subpoenaed the telegrams and long-distance toll slips of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee in Los Angeles, which is the headquarters for region 13 of the P. A. C., composed of California and Nevada. An examination of these toll slips and telegrams will show that the individuals who are directing P. A. C. activities in region 13 are persons of well-known Communist ties and affiliations. For example, the telephone chart will show that the P. A. C. in Los Angeles is in frequent communication with Mervyn Rathborne in San Francisco. Mr. Rathborne, a prominent official of the C. I. O. in the State of California, has a long record of Communist activity and has been identified by a number of witnesses before this committee as a member of the Communist Party. His record is given in detail on pages 158 to 161 of the committee's previous report on P. A. C. However, I should like to point out to the committee that he is the same Mervyn Rathborne who was a member of the national council of the treasonable organization known as the American Peace Mobilization which picketed the White House and did everything in its power to cripple this country's preparedness during the period of the Soviet-Nazi pact.

The telephone chart also shows that the P. A. C. headquarters in that region kept in touch with Mr. Harry Bridges, whose Communist membership is notorious. As further evidence of Mervyn Rathborne's importance in the P. A. C. set-up in California, I should like to include at this point the text of a telegram sent on March 13, 1944, which reads as follows—

By the way, Mr. Chairman, all of these telegrams which I quoted in my statement are here, either the original or a photostat, if the committee desires to examine them.

Mr. THOMAS. Should we put those telegrams in the record, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. COSTELLO. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. This telegram to Mr. Rathborne reads as follows:

MERVYN RATHBONE.

150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco:

Conference with Mr. Hillman in my office tomorrow 10 a. m. Appreciate your attendance.

(Signed) GEORGE B. ROBERTS.

This telegram was paid for by the C. I. O. Political Action Committee and sent by Mr. Roberts, who is the director of the P. A. C. for that region.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Mervyn Rathborne also has been selected as an elector for the Democratic Party in the convention?

Mr. STRIPLING. He did appear in the Democratic convention.

Mr. COSTELLO. He has always taken an active part in the Democratic Party in the State of California, regardless of his Communist background?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. The Communist Party, when it dissolved its own organization, turned to operate through other political organizations?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

Among the paid employees of the P. A. C. in California is Revels Cayton, member of the Communist Party. I should like to give here briefly a portion of Cayton's record. He was a candidate for State senator in the Thirty-seventh District of the State of Washington in 1934 on the Communist Party ticket. He, like Mr. Rathborne, was also a member of the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization. There is no question concerning his communism, yet, here is a telegram which he sent to Mervyn Rathborne in the capacity of an employee of the P. A. C., and the telegram was paid for by the P. A. C.:

JULY 30, 1944.

MERVYN RATHBONE,

150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco:

Wire C. B. Baldwin care James Carey, Washington, D. C., as to date you want Claude Pepper on coast. He is willing to cooperate on Pepper and Wallace meeting. This is message from George Roberts.

(Signed) REVELS CAYTON.

Another of the employees of the P. A. C. is Gus Hawkins, who is assistant director for region 13. Mr. Hawkins was a sponsor of a testimonial dinner in honor of Leo Gallagher, Communist Party candidate for Attorney General in California a few years ago. On June 1, 1944, Hawkins sent the following telegram, which was paid for by the P. A. C., to Revels Cayton:

REVELS CAYTON,

150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco:

Arriving in San Francisco Thursday night. Leaving for Sacramento Saturday night. Available for meeting any time before 6 p. m. Saturday.

(Signed) GUS HAWKINS.

I have called these telegrams to the attention of the committee in order that they might see that the persons who are actually running the activities of the organization in California are people with Communist records. Considerable evidence will be presented later to show the active support being given the P. A. C. in this area by the Communist Political Association and other Communist-dominated organizations, such as the Hollywood Democratic Committee.

Mr. COSTELLO. You also have some telegrams, have you not, from the Hollywood Democratic Committee?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. Indicating their tie-up with the Communist Party?

Mr. STRIPLING. The Hollywood Democratic Committee, Mr. Chairman, is not in any way connected with the Democratic Party as such in California. It is an entirely separate organization.

Mr. COSTELLO. They simply assumed the name "Democratic" without being a part of the Democratic Party?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right. It was formerly the Motion Picture Democratic Committee, which was set up by the Communists.

Mr. THOMAS. Did it ever endorse any Republican candidates?

Mr. STRIPLING. The record does not show. On that point, however, to show these interlocking relationships between the Hollywood Democratic Committee, which, as you know, Mr. Costello, is directed by Mr. Herbert Biberman, who was also chairman of the American Peace Mobilization in California, and Mr. John Howard Lawson, who is a well-known Communist in Hollywood.

Mr. COSTELLO. The same organization to which Mr. Mervyn Rathborne belongs.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

On June 14, 1944, Mr. C. B. Baldwin, assistant director of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, sent the following telegram to Leisa Bronson, 112 West Ninth Street, Los Angeles, Calif.:

Have no objection to Hollywood committee communicating with our regional director, indicating their desire to cooperate with them. Suggest you act in liaison capacity Hollywood committee to Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee, keeping national office posted as to service they are in position to render. Suggest names of candidates to be supported to regional director, since national office does not endorse candidates.

C. B. BALDWIN.

In that same connection here is a telegram which Leisa Bronson sent to Ray Levitt, Salt Lake City, on June 19, 5 days later:

George Roberts out of town. Hollywood Democratic Committee played a big part in campaign against Costello. Baldwin has authorized their use of his name in contacting regional directors and has asked me to act as liaison. They can be of help in writing copy for skits, radio scripts, or literature, also furnish screen talent occasionally.

LEISA BRONSON,

Field Representative, Political Action Committee.

I have here, Mr. Chairman, a copy of the aims of the Hollywood Democratic Committee, one of their own releases, in which they state, "The Hollywood Democratic Committee is not directly affiliated with the Democratic Party organization."

We have quite a memorandum here showing the Communist affiliations and background of the Hollywood Democratic Committee, which Mr. Matthews will put in the record tomorrow, if it is agreeable to the committee.

Mr. COSTELLO. You had better put it in all at one time—to have the entire matter together. You may proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. You might be interested, Mr. Chairman, in the following telegram which was sent by the P. A. C. from Los Angeles, following the May primaries in California. It read as follows:

MAY 16.

JEROME POSNER,

Sherman Hotel, Chicago:

We have won everywhere. Gahagan, Doyle, Voorhis, Holfield, King, and Patterson have won nomination. Outstanding is Styles victory apparently putting Costello completely out. Young campaign over Hinshaw still in doubt. Please tell Hillman. We are very happy.

GRISELDA,

*Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee,
112 West Ninth Street.*

There are a number of those telegrams, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. COSTELLO. You received a telegram, did you not, from Mr. Baldwin, stating that they did not endorse or support any individual candidate?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. I will take that matter up a little further on in my statement, Mr. Chairman.

For the record I should like to state that Mr. Styles was exposed in the public press last week as having been a grand klegle of the Ku Klux Klan in Jamaica, N. Y., in 1929. According to the campaign literature which was released during the campaign, of which you are well aware, Mr. Styles was played up as an anti-Fascist candidate, and his affiliation, I am sure, has proved that rather embarrassing. To show how fully the Political Action Committee was behind Mr. Styles I have here a telegram dated May 4, 1944, which was sent by J. Q. Riznik, executive editor of the P. A. C. publication, to Mr. Harold Roseman, editor of the Labor Herald, 122 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.:

Appreciate picture Political Action candidate Harold Styles, published page 1, April 28, Labor Herald, for use this week. Please send by air mail. Regards.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Styles appeared on the radio program out of Los Angeles entitled "Love Thy Neighbor." Quite typical, quite in keeping with his Klan affiliation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir. The Gahagan referred to in this telegram is Helen Gahagan, wife of movie actor Melvyn Douglas. Mrs. Douglas is also a candidate for Congress in the State of California. In this connection I should like to submit to the committee a telegram which typifies the political intrigue which is being used by the P. A. C. The telegram reads as follows:

JUNE 27.

Senator CLAUDE PEPPER,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

If at all possible, please prevail upon Vail Pittman to run against McCarran in Nevada. Everything is in his favor and he is most electible.

HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS.

This telegram, Mr. Chairman, was charged to and paid for by the C. I. O. Political Action Committee in Los Angeles. I might add that Mr. Pittman did run against Senator McCarran in the recent primary and the evidence which the committee has and which will be presented later in the hearings shows that the P. A. C. had been working quietly in Nevada for some time. It does seem rather strange, however, that Miss Gahagan a candidate on the Democratic ticket and one of the principal speakers at the Democratic National Convention, would engage in this sort of a conspiracy in an effort to bring about the defeat of a Member of the Senate who himself is a member of the Democratic Party.

As an example of the subterfuge being employed by Mr. Hillman and the P. A. C., I direct the committee's attention to the testimony of Mr. Hillman recently before the Campaign Expenditures Committee when he told that committee that the endorsement of local candidates was entirely up to the local members of the Political Action Committee throughout the country and that the national office had nothing to do with it. Let me quote his exact testimony which he gave before the Campaign Expenditures Committee of the House on August

28 of this year, and which can be found on page 8, part 1, of that committee's hearings:

Here I should like to emphasize one point. The national office of our committee has not and will not endorse senatorial, congressional, State, or local candidates. That is not our job. It is the job of the local voters and their organizations. As I have frequently stated on other occasions, we have no purge list, either public or secret. We have never attempted to impose our will upon the local organizations of the C. I. O. That policy was adopted by our committee at the outset. It has been adhered to rigorously. It will not be departed from.

In light of that testimony, I should like to introduce two telegrams, one dated July 29, 1944, which reads as follows:

E. D. CHURCH,

406 Seventh Street, Ely, Nev.

For benefit of press you may state that National Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee does not make endorsements in States that solely left to the judgment of the membership in our district. Suggest that we make no endorsements for time being and make no commitments until we can get together the latter part of this week in Las Vegas. Phone my residence Kimball 9077 Sunday morning 9 a. m.

GEORGE B. ROBERTS.

Charged to the C. I. O. Political Action Committee.

E. D. Church is an official of P. A. C. in Nevada and George Roberts, as previously stated, is regional director for the P. A. C. in California and Nevada. Consider now the following telegram which was sent on August 24, 1944, by Raymond S. McKeough, regional director of the P. A. C. for Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin. The telegram reads:

WALTER FRISBIE,

241 West Maryland Street, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Please immediately notify all locals and Political Action Committee committees throughout your State to positively make no political endorsements until approved by regional and National offices of Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee.

Signed RAYMOND S. McKEOUGH.

Charged to the Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee, 104 W. Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

The same telegram was sent to Mel J. Heinritz, 108 West Wells Street, Milwaukee, Wis., and Maurice F. McEligott, Room 1322, 205 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. The three recipients of these telegrams are the P. A. C. officials for Indiana, Wisconsin, and Illinois, respectively. I should like to emphasize, Mr. Chairman, that these telegrams were sent by one of the high officials of the P. A. C. 4 days before Mr. Hillman gave his testimony, under oath, to the Campaign Expenditures Committee. There is little question but that Mr. McKeough was acting upon instructions from the national office; a mere reading of the telegrams makes that clear. Yet, 4 days later Mr. Hillman was telling a committee of Congress and the Nation that the national P. A. C. did not in any wise interfere with the political freedom of endorsement of the rank and file of the C. I. O. This is just another example of the dictatorial and undemocratic policy and methods being employed by the P. A. C.

Mr. COSTELLO. It is quite evident from the telegram of Mr. McKeough that the local organizations could not make public any recommendation of candidates until they had the approval of the national P. A. C. headquarters.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right.

Mr. COSTELLO. Which was definitely an endorsement by the national headquarters of the P. A. C., which was exactly a contradiction of the words that Mr. Hillman used, that they did not endorse candidates.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. McKeough's telegram says to positively make no political endorsements until approved by the national officers of Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee. He was very definite about it.

Mr. COSTELLO. As a matter of fact, complete control was in the national headquarters in New York, rather than in any of the State or district organizations?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right. It is also pertinent at this point to introduce evidence to the committee which will refute Mr. Hillman's allegations concerning the very democratic manner in which the P. A. C. has collected money from its members to build up the tremendous slush fund which it has been using to purge those in public office they do not like. I call your attention to the following telegram, dated March 14, which reads as follows:

JOHN GREEN,

*President International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers
of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations,
Camden, N. J.:*

Local 9 is committed for \$1 a member which amounts to \$16,000. To date the administrator has only paid one thousand. He also has not put on a full-time man from the national office. Imperative this be done immediately and commitments fulfilled.

SIDNEY HILLMAN.

That was sent from Los Angeles and charged to the C. I. O. Political Action Committee. Apparently Mr. Hillman was in Los Angeles at the time.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Stripling, that telegram states that local 9 is committed for \$1 a member. Did you check into that?

Mr. STRIPLING. I am not sure Mr. Thomas. My understanding is that when the Political Action Committee was originally set up, the executive committees of the various unions made a commitment or assessment of \$1 per member. Apparently the members did not pay this assessment or did not come through for they were \$15,000 behind.

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly if Mr. Hillman really means what he says in his telegram, somebody committed the members of that local to an assessment of \$1 apiece. The word "committed" means that either the members committed themselves or the head of the union committed the members, or Sidney Hillman was in error when he said the local union had to be assessed \$1 a member. I think we ought to check on that. That is a very important telegram.

Mr. STRIPLING. I think perhaps the officials of the P. A. C. could give the committee the details of that.

Mr. Chairman, we are prepared to present witnesses further in this hearing who were members of the C. I. O. but because of their resentment against such shake-down methods as revealed by Mr. Hillman's telegram, they resigned from the C. I. O.

In Chicago, we also find that the Communists are directing the P. A. C. there. Take, for example, the Communist record of John T. Barnard, political action director of the Chicago area of the United

Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, C. I. O. Mr. Barnard's Communist record is given in detail on pages 80-83 of the committee's previous report on the P. A. C. Men like Mervyn Rathborne, Revels Cayton, and a number of other officials of the P. A. C. were associated with the American Peace Mobilization during the Soviet-Nazi pact. In fact, Mr. Barnard was one of the presiding officers at a meeting of the Peace Mobilization held in New York April 6, 1941. He has also been an officer in many other fronts of the Communist Party and has been a contributor to the official organs of the Communist Party. Another important official of the P. A. C. in that area is Mr. Ernest DeMaio. Mr. DeMaio is the international representative and general vice president of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, C. I. O. He is one of the key figures in the P. A. C. set-up in the region of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana.

Here is Mr. DeMaio's Communist record: On March 9, 1941, he extended greetings on behalf of his organization at a birthday banquet given in honor of William Z. Foster, one of the high officials of the Communist Party in the United States and on many occasions candidate for President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket. On May 30, 1941, DeMaio spoke at the third annual convention of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. During his speech he stated "there will always be liberty loving people ready to fight for real democracy but not for the democracy for the war mongers. If Roosevelt thinks he is fooling the American people he is as nutty as Hitler and his friend Hess." It should be noted that this was during the period of the Soviet-Nazi pact, when DeMaio was active in the American Peace Mobilization which was against lend-lease and preparedness.

Mr. THOMAS. It is not clear to me, Mr. Stripling, what job Mr. DeMaio holds at present.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is the international representative and general vice president of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, C. I. O., and one of the key men in the P. A. C. set-up in the three States, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

On July 23, 1941, he spoke at a meeting of the American Peace Mobilization at the Hamilton Hotel in Chicago. The American Peace Mobilization will be recalled as the organization which picketed the White House. On November 12, 1941, he was a speaker at a meeting sponsored by the International Workers Order held at the Midland Hotel in Chicago. The International Workers Order is one of the outstanding Communist fronts in the United States. On March 13, 1942, he spoke at a Tom Mooney Memorial meeting, held under the auspices of the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder. On May 20, 1942, he was the main speaker at a Communist Party meeting, held at the Shoe Workers Hall, 1632 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill. This affair was originally advertised as a "Free Earl Browder Meeting" but since Browder had received his freedom in the meantime they decided to call this "United for Victory Over the Axis" rally. DeMaio is also a member of the board of directors of the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago, which is the Communist

workers school in that area. The following telegram was sent on August 7, 1944, by Raymond S. McKeough, regional director, P. A. C., to Ernest DeMaio:

ERNEST DEMAIO,

*United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America,
Chicago, Ill.:*

Important policy committee meeting Wednesday 10 o'clock my office. Urgent you be present.

RAYMOND S. MCKEOUGH.

Charged to Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee.

I should also like to call to your attention the telegram of June 22, 1944, which reads as follows:

WILLIAM SENTNER,

St. Louis, Mo.:

Can you be in Chicago Tuesday to meet with GOJACK and me?

ERNEST DEMAIO.

William Sentner, to whom this telegram was addressed, is vice president of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, C. I. O. He is also a Communist. He has held numerous positions in the Communist Party of the Missouri-Arkansas district, No. 21, of the Communist Party, among them being the following: Secretary of the East St. Louis section committee (1934); secretary, Communist Party of St. Louis (1935); district organizer, Communist Party of Arkansas (1935); organization secretary, St. Louis (1935); member of district committee (1938); and member of city committee of the Communist Party of St. Louis (1939). I have read Mr. DeMaio's Communist record for the reason that witnesses will be presented to the committee who will testify concerning DeMaio's dictation of political activities in the Chicago area. In order that the committee might fully appreciate the importance of William Sentner, whose Communism there is no question about, I should like to submit the following telegram sent by C. B. Baldwin, assistant chairman of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee:

MARCH 8, 1944.

WILLIAM SENTNER,

*United Electrical and Radio Machine Workers of America,
St. Louis, Mo.*

Imperative we take immediate action on appointing regional director for Missouri and Kansas. Please let us have definite recommendation not later than Saturday morning.

C. B. BALDWIN,

*Assistant chairman, Congress of Industrial Organizations
Political Action Committee.*

All three of the above-mentioned individuals, namely, Barnard, DeMaio, and Sentner, are officials of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, C. I. O., which this committee unanimously found to be under Communist domination in a report filed with the House in 1940. This is the same union which has contributed a total of \$80,000 to the P. A. C.

Mr. Chairman, the P. A. C., alias the N. C. P. A. C., is following the Communist Party line, not the "rank and file of labor" line. It is a part of the revamped blue print of the Communist Party to take over

and destroy the American system of government by the taking over of a major political party. In doing this they are receiving the active assistance of all the fronts and organizations which rally around the Communist movement. They are also receiving the active assistance of a number of officials and employees of the Federal Government, and the bill is being paid by the members of the C. I. O. who are misled by certain of their Communist inspired leaders.

Mr. COSTELLO. Regarding the financing of the Political Action Committee, I believe they filed with us yesterday a list containing the names of contributors who gave in excess of \$1,000 to their activities. Is that correct?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I have a copy of that list.

Mr. COSTELLO. Which would indicate that the contributions that are supporting P. A. C. are not entirely \$1 contributions from members of labor unions; that rather large, substantial sums are being contributed by specific individuals.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir. My investigation shows that the \$1 contributions which they were counting on have been lagging very much. In that connection, Mr. Chairman, it is interesting to note that the largest contributors, according to the tabulation filed with the Clerk of the House, are officials of the Political Action Committee themselves. For instance, J. Raymond Walsh, who is research director of the organization, contributed \$4,750. Clark Foreman, who is secretary of the organization, contributed \$5,000, and other individuals who are members of the national committee contributed substantial amounts.

Mr. COSTELLO. You do not happen to know what the salaries of those two individuals you named are?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; I do not know.

Mr. COSTELLO. Either their salaries are rather fabulous, in order to justify contributing such sums, four or five thousand dollars, or the contribution would not be their own contribution. I think that would be a fair deduction to be made from the statement.

Mr. STRIPLING. I think it would.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Stripling, do you know whether any of these large contributors that are listed there have had Communist affiliations or have been active in Communist front organizations?

Mr. STRIPLING. Certainly Corliss Lamont, who contributed \$1,000, has one of the most extensive communist records of anyone in the United States. Mr. Matthews can give that to you.

Mr. COSTELLO. You have his record available, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. Joseph Catanotti, who gave \$1,000, was chairman of the Tom Mooney Defense Committee in New York. That is the only one that I am familiar with. I think Mr. Matthews will check this list.

Mr. THOMAS. How much did he contribute?

Mr. STRIPLING. He contributed \$2,000.

Mr. THOMAS. Any others?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; I have not checked the list myself.

Mr. THOMAS. Between now and the time Mr. Matthews goes on, let Mr. Matthews check that list.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, quite a number of these names are those of persons who have Communist records. I do not have the

records here in the hearing room this morning, but they are in the files of the committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you prepared to name them now from that list and the amounts? If you do name any, I would like to have the amount of the contribution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; here is the name of James H. McGill, who contributed \$2,000. Mr. McGill, according to Sidney Hillman's list presented to the Campaign Expenditures Committee, is a manufacturer in Valparaiso, Ind. In the early post-war days of World War I, two men who are now members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, one of whom is Mr. McGill, signed a contract with the Russian Red Cross, which is the official Red Cross agency of the Soviet Government, whereby these two men set up an American subsidiary to the official Russian Red Cross, stating in the contract that it was done because of prejudice against the Communist regime in Russia.

Mr. McGill was one of the signers of this particular contract. His organization, the American subsidiary, began to raise funds for the relief of the destitute in Russia, but according to the record, at the time, the organization immediately degenerated into a political propaganda machine, and Mr. McGill and one other who will be named tomorrow, who signed that contract, were associated with an organization which put out the statement: "We will milk the American bourgeoisie in order to destroy it." That is in the record of some 25 years ago.

Mr. THOMAS. How much did he contribute?

Mr. MATTHEWS. \$2,000.

Mr. THOMAS. Anyone else?

Mr. MATTHEWS. J. Raymond Walsh has quite a Communist record. He contributed \$4,750.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that Mr. Matthews look over that and report back to us tomorrow.

Mr. COSTELLO. That might be better if you will do that, Mr. Matthews. Check that against the committee files and ascertain how many of these contributors there actually have Communist background. I think that definitely indicates the source from which the Political Action Committee is obtaining its major contributions, providing these are the sole major contributions the P. A. C. has received recently.

I would like to again call your attention, Mr. Stripling, to address a letter to Attorney General Biddle, requesting that he provide this committee with information as to the present status of the perjury prosecution cases—the contempt cases back in 1940. Get a report on that for the committee as soon as possible.

I wish you would likewise address a letter to the Farm Security Administration inquiring as to the basis on which Mr. Baldwin was paid a salary subsequent to his resignation and joining the Political Action Committee.

Does that conclude your testimony for this morning?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. In view of the time, because I think it will take quite some time for Mr. Matthews to go through the testimony which

he will present, that will conclude our hearing this morning, and we will have Mr. Matthews as the witness tomorrow. He is the director of research for the committee, and will give a report on the names of the persons who are listed as members of the Citizens Political Action Committee, as well as the Political Action Committee itself.

That will conclude our hearing this morning, and we will adjourn until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, would it be agreeable to make this list of contributors a part of the record?

Mr. COSTELLO. Yes; I think that should be in the record.
(The list referred to follows:)

Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee—Individual contributions account—Loans, July 23–Sept. 9, 1944

Zip F. Szold, New York, N. Y.	\$5,000
Joseph Catalanotti, New York, N. Y.	2,000
Morris Freeman, New York, N. Y.	5,000
Benjamin Freeman, New York, N. Y.	5,000
Charles Brodsky, New York, N. Y.	2,000
Alfred Lewis Baker, New York, N. Y.	5,000
Leo Perlman, New York, N. Y.	5,000
Morris Hertling, New York, N. Y.	1,000
J. Raymond Walsh, New York, N. Y.	4,750
Clark Foreman, New York, N. Y.	5,000
Maxwell Brandwen, New York, N. Y.	5,000
Morris E. Rosenthal, New York, N. Y.	5,000
Totals	49,750

National Citizens Political Action Committee—Loans to Sept. 9, 1944

Elinor S. Gimbel, New York, N. Y.	\$1,000
James Warburg, New York, N. Y.	5,000
Marion W. Meyer, Scarsdale, N. Y.	5,000
Corliss Lamont, New York, N. Y.	1,000
Samuel Surto, New York, N. Y.	1,000
David Drechsler, New York, N. Y.	2,500
David W. Katz, New York, N. Y.	2,500
Michael Volpe, New York, N. Y.	5,000
William Goldberg, New York, N. Y.	3,000
Mae Kirmayer, New York, N. Y.	3,000
Jacob H. Kantor, New York, N. Y.	2,000
Crescent De. Stasio, New York, N. Y.	3,000
Total loans	34,000

(From files of the Clerk of the House of Representatives.)

National Citizens Political Action Committee—Contributions, Sept. 10, 1944

George Rettinger, sworn.

Stanley Goldman, New York, N. Y.	\$3,000
Ralph Levy, New York, N. Y.	1,000
David Drechsler, New York, N. Y.	2,500
David W. Katz, New York, N. Y.	2,500
Julius H. Levy, New York, N. Y.	5,000
James H. McGill, Valparaiso, Ind.	2,000
Seymour Finn, New York, N. Y.	2,500
Arthur Hershon, New York, N. Y.	2,000
Sidney Garfield, New York, N. Y.	3,000

M. Whitehall, Baltimore, Md-----	\$2, 500
M. T. Solomon, New York, N. Y-----	2, 500
David F. Seiferheld, New York, N. Y-----	1, 000
Jerome Udell, New York, N. Y-----	1, 250
Alvin Udell, New York, N. Y-----	1, 250
Paul Kaminsky, New York, N. Y-----	1, 250
Murray Udell, New York, N. Y-----	1, 250

From files of the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

(Whereupon, at 11 : 55 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 10 : 30 a. m. Thursday, September 28, 1944.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1944

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO
INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. John M. Costello presiding.

Present: Hon. John M. Costello, California; Hon. J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey.

Also present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Mr. J. B. Matthews, research director.

Mr. COSTELLO. The committee will come to order. We will continue the hearings that were started yesterday. Mr. Stripling, would you call the first witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Morgan will you take the stand?

TESTIMONY OF HARRY MORGAN, CHICAGO, ILL.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Costello.)

Mr. COSTELLO. Will you state your name and address for the record?

Mr. MORGAN. Harry Morgan.

Mr. COSTELLO. Where are you employed, Mr. Morgan?

Mr. MORGAN. Chicago Flexible Shaft.

Mr. COSTELLO. You were subpoenaed by this committee on the 19th day of September to appear here as a witness?

Mr. MORGAN. I was.

Mr. COSTELLO. You are appearing here as the result of that subpoena?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. You may proceed with the questioning, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Morgan, will you give your home address for the record?

Mr. MORGAN. 4221 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been employed at the Chicago Flexible Shaft Co.?

Mr. MORGAN. Approximately 8 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of the C. I. O. union?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I am not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been a member of the C. I. O.?

Mr. MORGAN. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. For what period were you a member of the C. I. O.?

Mr. MORGAN. From the time the union was certified in our shop, which was the latter part of August 1933, until the night of June 27, 1944.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you active in organizing the Chicago Flexible Shaft Co., the C. I. O. union of the Chicago Flexible Shaft?

Mr. MORGAN. I was one of the committee of five that organized the shop.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did this organizational work begin?

Mr. MORGAN. It began in the spring, the latter part of May 1942.

Mr. STRIPLING. You said you were one of a committee of five. Would you give the names of the other four who were active with you in organizing the plant?

Mr. MORGAN. Elmer Churchill, John Sobus, Carlo Jampapa, and Frank Jacobs.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you recite to the committee your efforts in organizing the plant and the persons in the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America with whom you worked, the original organizers and representatives of the union who were sent to assist you in organizing the plant?

Mr. MORGAN. Well, we five constituted the organizing staff from the inside of the shop. The man outside, who was the field organizer, his name was Ted Baer.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you spell that?

Mr. MORGAN. I think it is B-a-e-r.

Mr. STRIPLING. His name is Theodore?

Mr. MORGAN. Theodore Baer; yes. We called him Ted for short.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was his title?

Mr. MORGAN. He was field organizer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was he sent to the Chicago Flexible Shaft Co. to work among the workers?

Mr. MORGAN. Well, for some months previous to that he had been making attempts to organize it, but up to that time there was no success to speak of.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Ernest DeMaio?

Mr. MORGAN. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Mr. DeMaio an official of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers?

Mr. MORGAN. He is the international vice president.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you had occasion from time to time to deal with him?

Mr. MORGAN. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know anything of his record; that is, his possible Communist record?

Mr. MORGAN. I was quite aware of that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, yesterday I read into the record of the committee a portion of Mr. DeMaio's affiliation with various organizations which this committee, as well as the Attorney General, has found to be Communist-front organizations.

Now, Mr. Morgan, will you tell the committee the difficulties that you encountered in your organizational work before the C. I. O. union

was certified as a union of the Chicago Flexible Shaft? Did you ever have any difficulty with Mr. DeMaio or with any of the international representatives of the International Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers concerning political activities?

Mr. MORGAN. Ernest DeMaio is, you might say, the head man. In fact, of course, he gives instructions through the field organizer and works very close with him, for practically whatever the field organizer instructs you to do, it is directed by Ernest DeMaio.

In the fore part of the campaign there were just two of us that would voluntarily hand out campaign literature; that is, to organize the shop, campaign literature involving that. The two of us, plus the other three, which was the committee of five, assisted in formulating a portion of this leaflet. We were opposed to politics from the very beginning, as we were aware that, more or less, it was being eased into the picture. From the month of June, through and possibly 6 weeks prior to the election in 1942, we were not bothered at that time openly with political activities, but 5 weeks before the election in 1942 it so happened in the afternoon on the second shift I was handing out the literature, and I noticed on the back of this leaflet there was a campaign literature for McKeough and Adamowski.

Mr. COSTELLO. Who was that?

Mr. MORGAN. They were two candidates.

Mr. STRIPLING. McKeough was a candidate for the United States Senate?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, and Adamowski for Congress. They were opposite Day and Brooks. That is who they were opposite. Immediately upon noticing this was on the back of the leaflet, I called the organizer's attention to it, that we were having a desperate struggle to organize the shop, and that we were definitely opposed to bringing politics into the picture.

Mr. STRIPLING. You told the organizer and the representatives—whom did you tell that to?

Mr. MORGAN. Theodore Baer.

Mr. STRIPLING. The field organizer?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was his reaction to the statement that you wanted to keep politics out of the union?

Mr. MORGAN. He told me that, of course, personally he had nothing to do with it, but DeMaio was the one behind the whole thing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Had you given DeMaio, and also Baer, to understand that if you were to be active in organizing the union, politics would have to be kept out of it?

Mr. MORGAN. I stated that politics, to me, was the business of the individual, that as free Americans they had a right to express themselves as to whether they supported the Democrats or Republicans; that was their personal affair, and unless it remained as such, we who were prominent in organizing the union would cease our activities immediately, as we didn't intend to organize with such a set-up. Shortly thereafter, possibly 5 weeks before the election, we were notified of a small meeting to be held at the C. I. O. office. At that meeting Mr. DeMaio was present. He didn't say but a few words, but we were told that—in fact, I had been told before we went to the meeting that he was very much dissatisfied with the progress as far

as us being politically minded was concerned, the leaders especially, and for that reason the original organizer, which was Theodore Baer, was to be taken off of the field. In other words, we were to have a new man from the outside to work with. This fellow was supposed to have a record for organizing women in the shop. In fact, he claimed he had a record of organizing as high as 100 a week.

Well, we stood quite loyal with the original organizer, and we took the position that evidently the move was for political activity, and that we would stand by the original organizer and we would let him go ahead and do his organizing.

After 2 weeks—10 days to 2 weeks—and in this course of time, I might say, without consulting us whatsoever, the three from the office had come out there, it was possibly 7 days before election—and they distributed Adamowski and McKeough literature, at the doorway of the shop again.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they have the approval of yourself or any of the other four?

Mr. MORGAN. They did not. In fact, we were resentful of them so having handed that literature out, and we entered the shop, and I said to Ted Baer, I asked him, "It looks like we have got a political organization started." "Well," he says, "this is part of the orders from the office and DeMaio's instructions." Well, I told him I myself was having nothing to do with it, then; I was out of the picture.

Within 2 weeks—10 days to 2 weeks—my closest lieutenant, which was John Sobus, was communicated with by telephone by Theodore Baer. He stated that DeMaio was aware that a drastic mistake had been made, and that organizing Flexible Shaft was like a cemetery, and for that reason they wished to bring us back into the fold, and they were willing to agree, to make such agreements to our satisfaction. In the course of conversation Mr. Sobus stated that I wasn't any too well pleased with the circumstances as they were, and it was possible that we would all wash our hands of the situation and forget it. Ted Baer finally came in to me—he then rather encouraged Sobus to take over in my position, and he would get someone else to fit into the position he was holding, and they would go ahead without my having led the fight.

So of course Sobus told him that while he was looking for someone to take my position, to look for someone to take his, too, as we were all stepping out of the picture. With this definite rebellion on our part he agreed to come and see me. The next day he came to my house, and for 2½ hours he talked to me out in the garage, and I stated that I was very fearful that I was being guilty, along with the committee of five, of having led the men and women of that shop out of the frying pan into the fire, and we had no such intention; that we intended to organize it as a labor union and for the benefit and interest of the men and women in the shop, and for no other purpose. He said he was prepared—at least, Mr. DeMaio had give him the right to agree, to the extent that there would be no more political activity. That was after this leaflet had been handed out, but prior to this I might state, to counteract the damage that had been done, I took it upon myself with the committee, and we got Republican literature and we did hand it out in behalf of Brooks and Day. We did that independent and entirely upon ourselves.

When Mr. Baer was there I asked him whether he had heard of what we had done, and I pointed out that the damage they had done we intended to counteract. Well, he said, "That will kind of put DeMaio in his place. I will be only too glad to take the message back and report to him, but I am prepared to make an agreement with you to the extent that there will be no more politics entered into the picture, providing you two fellows, who are the main ones of the five, step into the picture and take over and actually organize that shop. Furthermore, anything that appears in the leaflet you will be able to censor. In other words, you will have some authority. You will have authority as to whether you approve or disapprove of what is in there."

On those grounds, feeling and knowing that we really needed the union, we did step back into the picture.

Of course, the election was over, and it so happened that those two individuals didn't win. We weren't bothered any more then for some time. That was in 1942. The campaign lasted up until the spring of 1943, which was that year.

Mr. STRIPLING. You mean the organizing campaign?

Mr. MORGAN. The organizing campaign. On June 22 we had our Labor Board election. Three of us five represented the election committee at the ballot box and we did win the election. It was 6 weeks before the company would recognize our certification.

Mr. THOMAS. Can you tell the committee by what margin you won the election?

Mr. MORGAN. The vote was—I am quite sure it was 460 to 406. Approximately 60 votes is what we won by.

Mr. COSTELLO. What was the total number of employees in the shop?

Mr. MORGAN. The total number of employees in the shop was approximately 1,150 at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. You said it was 6 weeks, then, before the company recognized the C. I. O. union?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was certified at what time?

Mr. MORGAN. It was certified shortly after the election. The National Labor Relations Board certified us, but our opponent on the ticket filed a complaint and an injunction against us.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was recognized somewhere around September of 1943?

Mr. MORGAN. In July.

Mr. STRIPLING. July 1943?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you hold any position in the local union?

Mr. MORGAN. I was chief shop steward.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you hold any other position prior to that?

Mr. MORGAN. Well, at the same time I was also department steward.

Previous to September the various shops, which was 23 in our local—1,150 is the number of the local—the individual shops issued papers of their own, individual shop papers. At that time, not knowing the background of that, the local itself began issuing a newspaper, the U. E. News, and the individual shop, their paper more or less slid out into the background. The issue was raised in our shop at the time that we desired a local shop paper giving the news in the interest of labor in our own shop paper in preference to this paper. This paper was

brought to our hall and was deposited in the hall, expecting, and we were asked to distribute the paper. Before anything was distributed or taken up, I insisted that it must go through the stewards' council, which I was instructed and told was the same as the legislative body of the shop, and to clear myself from being accused of being a dictator, I insisted upon everything being put through the stewards' body, and when this was brought to the stewards' body they turned thumbs down on the distribution of the paper.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did the stewards' body turn thumbs down on the distribution of the paper? That was the United Electrical News, the official newspaper of the organization.

Mr. MORGAN. In the discussion that came on the floor it was pointed out that the editorial policies were very partial. It was completely, you might say, New Dealish news. It was radically opposed to the Chicago Tribune, and anything that didn't coincide with the views of Mr. DeMaio, more or less was branded as just not in accord with the policies and principals of the C. I. O., and when the discussion was given and the vote was taken, the paper—it was decided to leave it set, having nothing to do with it.

Mr. STRIPLING. In that connection, was other material brought to you as the chief steward for distribution among the workers in the plant?

Mr. MORGAN. Numerous quantities of material have been brought to me, petitions, various leaflets, membership blanks for enrollment in the Abraham Lincoln School.

Mr. STRIPLING. The Abraham Lincoln School, is that the Communist Worker school in the Chicago area?

Mr. MORGAN. That is our contention. Mr. DeMaio so happened to be an instructor in the school.

Mr. THOMAS. And while Mr. DeMaio was an instructor in the school he was having his union distribute leaflets advertising the school?

Mr. MORGAN. Enrollment blanks. And the union itself was pledged to pay 50 percent of all costs as a member. In fact, I was solicited numerous times and I was encouraged to force this upon the steward body, and I got out from under that by insisting that I would have nothing to do with it, and forced it to go through the stewards' body.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean the union was supposed to pay 50 percent of the cost of maintaining this school?

Mr. MORGAN. In other words, if I enrolled in the school and it cost \$30, the union would pay half.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. DeMaio is also a member of the board of directors of the Abraham Lincoln School. I don't know whether you know that or not.

Mr. MORGAN. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the various stewards' meetings and in general meetings of the union, were the members invited to join the Abraham Lincoln School, affiliate with it, take courses there?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; at most every one of our steward meetings and general-assembly meetings, it was brought out on the part of the business agent, or business representative, as he called himself, Mr. Irving Krane, and they were openly encouraged to enroll in this Abraham Lincoln School.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the earliest date at which the words "political action" were brought into the stewards' meetings?

Mr. MORGAN. It was shortly after September, when we first began to pay our dues.

Mr. STRIPLING. And in what way was it brought about?

Mr. MORGAN. Prior to that we had what was known as the legislative committee interested in various legislation that was in behalf of the workers, and the outgrowth of this affair that more or less it was taken over by the political-action set-up.

Mr. STRIPLING. The Political Action Committee was formed in July 1943 by the executive committee of the C. I. O. Was your local called upon to form a political-action committee?

Mr. MORGAN. We were.

Mr. STRIPLING. By whom?

Mr. MORGAN. Irving Krane, the business representative.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you spell that?

Mr. MORGAN. I-r-v-i-n-g K-r-a-n-e.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he approach you about forming a political action committee?

Mr. MORGAN. He was more or less dissatisfied with the way we had taken hold. In other words, he was well aware that we were not in accord—the stewards' body, which was 31 stewards, he was aware that 23 to 25 of those stewards were definitely opposed. These others so happened to be members in the Abraham Lincoln School, 3 to 5 of them were members in the Abraham Lincoln School.

Mr. STRIPLING. How often did the stewards meet?

Mr. MORGAN. The bylaws called for us to meet once a month, but when we started the organizing campaign we pledge ourselves to a meeting every Monday night until the shop was organized and we were certified.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Krane and Mr. Baer attend the meetings?

Mr. MORGAN. Almost every one.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that in line with the policy of the regulations?

Mr. MORGAN. The question was raised numerous times as to the domination that these individuals forced upon our body. It was pointed out by even those that are now in their fold that they were dominating us and practically running the affairs or the show themselves and we, the steward body, was nothing but cat's-paws.

Mr. THOMAS. Right along that line, does it appear to you that Mr. Demaio, Mr. Krane, and some of these other outside men were more interested in organizing for political activity than for organizing the workers?

Mr. MORGAN. That was my definite contention.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have here a letter dated June 6, 1944, on the letterhead of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, District Council 11, 166 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill., dated June 6, 1944, which reads as follows:

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS: In line with the material and suggestions recently received from our international office on the question of periodical political-action classes for our shop stewards, it is necessary that all Chicago United Electrical chief shop stewards and executive board members, as well as staff members, meet immediately to discuss and work out a plan of action.

A meeting for that purpose, and that purpose only, will be held at the Hamilton Hotel, 18 South Dearborn Street, in the Flemish room, on Monday, June 12, at 7:30 p. m.

Understanding as you do the importance of political action if organized labor is to survive, you will arrange your activities so as to be present at this meeting.
Fraternally yours,

JOHN T. BERNARD,
*Political Action Director, Chicago Area,
United Electrical-Congress of Industrial Organizations.*

I would like to ask the witness if he received such a letter. He was a chief steward of one of the locals of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union.

Mr. MORGAN. I have received a similar letter, the same identical wording.

Mr. STRIPLING. You received, approximately on June 6, a letter from Mr. Bernard, requesting that you meet on June 12 at the Hamilton Hotel to discuss political action?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you attend the meeting?

Mr. MORGAN. No, I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why didn't you attend, Mr. Morgan?

Mr. MORGAN. I was well aware that it was for political purposes only, and the ones closest to me that would have attended with me were of the same opinion. For that reason we dismissed the issue on those grounds, and that we, as the leadership, were not in accord with their activities.

Mr. STRIPLING. I should like, Mr. Chairman, to have this received as exhibit 1 in this testimony.

Mr. COSTELLO. It may be so marked and put in the record.

(The letter referred to, dated June 6, 1944, was marked "Exhibit 1—Morgan" and received in evidence.)

Mr. STRIPLING. I should like to call the attention of the witness to a leaflet entitled "To Our Commander in Chief, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Our Supreme Allied Commander, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower."

Mr. THOMAS. What is the date of that?

Mr. STRIPLING. There is no date on it, Mr. Thomas. It is distributed by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, C. I. O., 166 West Jackson Boulevard. At the bottom of the page it has the notation of the union. It begins:

We, the workers of
sons, and comrades in arms.

solemnly pledge to our leader, brothers,

Then they list six points. The sixth point is:

We will work for the reelection of our Commander in Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and a win-the-war Congress to insure the earliest possible victory in the war and the winning of the peace.

Then there is a blank space for the signatures. Have you ever seen such a pamphlet as that?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; they were sent to the shop to me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you distribute them in the shop?

Mr. MORGAN. No, I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. And why, Mr. Morgan, didn't you distribute them?

Mr. MORGAN. I insisted upon them being authorized for distribution through the stewards' body, as I understood they were the executive board of the shop; therefore, that relieved me of the responsibility of taking it solely upon myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you brought these matters before the steward body, did the steward body ever consent to the distribution of them, or was it the policy of the steward body to do nothing about it?

Mr. MORGAN. Anything of a political nature, after discussion from the floor was given, the vote always was opposed to the distribution of political activity, Political Action literature in the shop.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was your union, your local, ever called upon to designate someone to see the Political Action representative for the General Council of Political Action in the Chicago area?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, the regular P. A. C. set-up, Political Action Committee set-up, was to be established in the shop—in fact, Mr. Krane went right ahead and said we needed a representative from the shop.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, they overruled your action?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. Herald Stuth was the name. He was the individual to represent the shop. And this action was taken not at the stewards' body, but at the general assembly, because the stewards' body more or less just didn't have anything to do with it, but by the representative being present at all general assembly meetings, he was allowed to slip that into the regular portion of the agenda, and succeeded in putting it over to the gathering of all the employees.

Mr. THOMAS. Was there any objection to it at the general assembly?

Mr. MORGAN. There was objection, but it was given—the sales talk used there was that it was more or less in a mild manner, to the extent that it was of legislative nature, supporting legislation that was beneficial to labor, and it was put through the general assembly in a much more mild form than it was to us in the stewards' body.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know a member of your union by the name of Eva Hancock?

Mr. MORGAN. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Eva Hancock ever designated as a representative of the union on the Political Action Committee?

Mr. MORGAN. She also, I think, was on the executive board.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was she ever elected by your local?

Mr. MORGAN. At the general assemblage she was elected to represent the shop on the Political Action set-up.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that before or after Stuth?

Mr. MORGAN. That was after Stuth.

Mr. STRIPLING. What happened to Stuth?

Mr. MORGAN. He also was on the grievance committee which met each Friday with the management, for negotiating grievances, and it so happened that there were 7 individuals on this committee, and the manner in which he conducted himself and the unusual interest he showed in political action, which was evidently more important to him than the settling of grievances—that conduct was reported back to the steward's body, the proper body to cope with that problem, and the result was that after discussion from the floor a motion was made to the extent of his removal as one of the committee. The vote carried, and he was removed from the committee.

The following day I had occasion to go down to the C. I. O. office, local 1150. I no more than stepped in the door than Mr. Krane, who is the business representative, and Mr. Amato, who is the president by virtue of 117 votes out of a membership of approximately between nine and ten thousand members—immediately they called me off to one

side and asked me what went on last night out there at the stewards' meeting. I told them, "Well the stewards kind of kicked over the traces a little bit and took things into their own hands." "Well," he says, "we expect you to take a firm upper hand in that situation out there." "Well," I said, "after all, the stewards' body, you understand, runs it. I am just the chairman. I am just the chief steward, is all, and I understand I am supposed to take orders from them. In other words, the decision of the majority of them is binding."

He said, "Well, definitely, are you having a meeting next Monday night." I said, "We have a meeting every Monday night, the stewards' body. Most shops don't have a meeting every Monday night, although we were still not certified"—no, I will change that statement, we were certified. Even after we were certified, we still continued to have meetings every Monday night. We felt that the necessity of it made it worth doing, although we were only compelled to hold one meeting a month. Then he said, "Well, next Monday night both Pat, the president here, and I will be there." And Pat broke in and said, "We expect you to take a firm hand in the demanding and admitting that a mistake has been made, and that we should by all means not have taken in all of that committee, as he is a very important individual on the committee; he is head of the Political Action set-up in the shop—in fact, he is the political director."

Of course, my reply to that was nothing, but I reported back to the more or less leading lieutenants that assisted very loyally in organizing the shop, and I told them the reaction of what took place there in the office, and Monday evening, where these two officials were present, the business representative nudged me as he sat beside me, just the same as to say, "Now is the time to bring in about Harold Stuth. We expect him to be reelected on that committee." Instead of taking the floor in behalf of him I refused to take the floor in his behalf; in fact I spoke against his being reelected, as I sat there as chairman of the committee, and I knew his conduct and didn't approve of his being on the committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Why didn't you approve of his being on the committee?

Mr. MORGAN. It so happened that four of the original ones that organized the shop, that had the interest of all the workers at heart, were on that committee, and these, along with the other two which is the present chief shop steward—the three of them are from the Abraham Lincoln School—they were so concerned in the political activity, even in the committee itself when we met the management.

Mr. STRIPLING. In the grievance committee?

Mr. MORGAN. In the grievance committee.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the main reason why you disapproved?

Mr. MORGAN. Inefficiency to carry on the negotiations and direct discussion across the table with the management. The ball was left to be carried by us four. We continually tried to get the cooperation of those three, but their interest was more or less on political action, political maneuvering.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, you say "more or less". Was it more on political action?

Mr. MORGAN. Much more.

Mr. THOMAS. And political matters?

Mr. MORGAN. Much more.

Mr. STRIPLING. Let me interrupt there, Mr. Morgan. Are you now a member of that local?

Mr. MORGAN. No, I am not. I have rescinded my membership application. In fact, I have a suit in superior court now.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ousted, so to speak, from the union because of your refusal to take political dictation?

Mr. MORGAN. That is the definite reason. My work as a union representative from the beginning was beyond reproach. The business representative and even Mr. DeMaio said so himself. I was outstanding in conducting the affairs of the union. In fact, they encouraged and tried to have me be on the executive board down town. I pointed out that I had a job to do in the shop, and I myself refused to be elected on the executive board.

Mr. STRIPLING. Because you refused to take the political dictation of Mr. DeMaio were you invited to resign as chief steward?

Mr. MORGAN. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. By whom?

Mr. MORGAN. By the business representative, Irving Krane.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that this year?

Mr. MORGAN. That was around February of this year.

Mr. STRIPLING. You refused to resign?

Mr. MORGAN. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you later removed as Chief Steward?

Mr. MORGAN. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. What date was that?

Mr. MORGAN. The evening of January 20.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you tell the committee briefly the manner in which you were removed and why you were removed?

Mr. MORGAN. Previous to the evening of June 20 I had never received any complaints from the office or from anyone superior to myself on the manner in which I conducted myself as an officer in the union at the shop. In fact, I had numerous times received praise both in front of the grievance committee when these officers were present, and in front of the negotiating committee with which I had a very prominent part in the contract, and also before the high management and in special meetings. In the job of classification throughout the shop, which was a matter of 6 to 8 weeks, I was completely on all of that affair, and my entire time was taken up with union activities.

It so happened, without any notice as to the intention at this meeting—In fact, I posted the notice three days before, Friday before the Tuesday of June 20—the notice was the regular monthly notice of a general assembly meeting, and the members were not aware of anything unusual to take place there. The attendance was small. In fact, there were only approximately 55 or 60 members that came out that evening. The membership of the shop at that time was 532.

Mr. THOMAS. And they had 1,100 employees?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, close to 1,200.

Mr. THOMAS. And you had 50 to 60 out at the meeting?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. And it so happened at this particular period I had been quite well buried with work, and I hadn't had the agenda for the evening completely prepared, and I was there 10 minutes early, attempting to get things in order, and I had two of my closest assist-

ants—or they were stewards—one was a steward and the other gentleman that was with me was a man that was fired from the company during the organizational period a year ago.

While we were seated there at the table in the front of the hall Mr. Krane and Mr. Amato walked in.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is Mr. Amato?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Amato is president of the local.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you spell his name?

Mr. MORGAN. A-m-a-t-o.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his first name?

Mr. MORGAN. Pat.

Mr. STRIPLING. Pat Amato?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. President of local 1150?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir. And, of course, we spoke to them, and Mr. Krane, the business representative, stepped over to me and put a letter, or I mean a regular sheet of paper before me, and he says, "Mr. Morgan, you just won't chair this meeting tonight. You are out." So immediately we three got together right there and we looked over the charges. The charges were not signed by anyone. The charges were similar charges that had been brought up by the three individuals that from this Abraham Lincoln School in the stewards' body. After each discussion they were thrown completely off the floor.

Mr. THOMAS. What were those charges?

Mr. MORGAN. They were very broad and general in extent. As an example, one was that I refused to go along and follow the policies and principles of the U. E. and the C. I. O.—very broad and general. In fact, there was no foundation for any one of the statements.

Mr. THOMAS. Were there any charges in relation to your administration of union affairs within the shop?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, there were. I think there were close to 30 charges. Some of them were to the extent that the—well, these three individuals—later on I found that they were the ones, along with a couple of others that went down, and the executive board permitted them to go over the heads of the steward body and over the heads of the general assembly and go down before the executive board and file those charges. They charged me with inefficiency.

Mr. STRIPLING. Even though you had built the union up?

Mr. MORGAN. Even though I had organized and built up the union. The big offense was that I refused to follow the policies and the principles laid down by the C. I. O.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you understand that to mean the political policy or principles?

Mr. MORGAN. We definitely knew that. At present I don't have a list of them, but they were on the broad nature of the ones I have just previously stated.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Morgan, were you ever criticised for not attending the Abraham Lincoln School?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, I was. In fact, I think that was a plotted affair. The negotiating committee assembled in the superintendent's office, and we generally sit in a semicircle and us four sit in front and three in the back, and these three were members of this Abraham Lincoln School, and this one girl, Julia Judinas, interrupted the conversation I

was carrying on with the superintendent and asked me was I intending to enroll in the new classes of the Abraham Lincoln School. I rather think that was pressure tactics, as she knew my position previously and as I didn't have any intention of having any part to do with it. I stated there that I had no such intention of enrolling in the Abraham Lincoln School. And on two or three occasions similar statements were made on her part, and also Mr. Wagner Lofgren, who is present chief steward, were made at those various meetings.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were removed, you say, on June 20?

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state to the committee the procedure that was used in removing you?

Mr. MORGAN. I was notified the night of this meeting that there would be no discussion on the charges whatsoever at this particular meeting. When anyone rose to defend my position at the meeting, Mr. Amato, who took over—in fact, the sergeant at arms from the executive board announced that the executive board was taking the meeting over, and the regular sergeant at arms was not permitted to conduct—not permitted to function as sergeant at arms.

Mr. COSTELLO. Was this executive board of local 1150?

Mr. MORGAN. The executive board of local 1150. When they were questioned from the floor to the extent of why discussion should not be permitted here, as the people are the ones to decide, and even though we knew the meeting had been planted, why take an affair like this to the executive board, where we only have one representative from our shop, and it so happens to be Wagner Lofgren, who is at the present time chief steward—we felt that it was very unfair, and rather than make a big issue with this we could discuss the thing and settle it before the general assembly or before the stewards' body, which was the proper body to settle it before. Immediately Mr. Amato would bang the table and say, "No discussion of the charges will be had here. If you want to find out anything you come down to the executive board. That is where you will find your information."

So the shop at that time was left without a chief steward. The proper body to elect a chief steward is the stewards' council, which comprises the stewards of the individual departments. So Mr. Krane announced, or Mr. Amato announced that at this meeting we would proceed with electing a temporary chief shop steward. Mr. Amato called for nominations. There were four nominations, Wagner Lofgren, Julia Judinas, Alfred Kutnick, and Elmer Churchill.

I immediately took the floor myself and stated that this election was completely out of order, and that I also was keeping a tabulation of the election and of the votes to be taken, and that it was going to be done according to fairness to all, otherwise I would have a record of it myself. The business representative was the tally judge.

There were various requests from the floor to have a secret vote. Mr. Amato even said that was out of order. The raising of hands showing the approval of one of the four was the method used. The four were asked to come before the gathering and stand with their faces to the wall, and Mr. Amato went behind each one and tapped him on the back and asked the group "Those in favor of so-and-so raise your hands." Well, he deliberately saw that there were individuals that were planted there that voted twice to my knowledge.

An individual that was on the original organizing committee protested. He pointed out that there were two individuals here that had voted twice for Wagner Lofgren, and he called for a secret ballot. Amato says, "Out of order. The election will go on."

Mr. Krane was the one that was keeping track of the votes. I notified him that I also was keeping track, and I asked everyone to raise their hands, because I knew, as I told him, that his intention was to have a hand-picked chief steward this very evening, which would be Wagner Lofgren. I recall that even though they voted some of them twice; Wagner Lofgren received 16 votes and Elmer Churchill, which it so happened was one of my closest lieutenants, received 17, and there was no voting twice for him.

So, knowing that the plot was to elect this individual, were well aware of that, I took the floor and I announced that Elmer Churchill was elected anyhow, as he received 17 votes, and I announced the other votes. Of course, Mr. Krane immediately took the floor and very angrily announced that "I am the one that is conducting this election, and I will do the announcing of the results of this election. Wagner Lofgren won the election by 23 votes." So automatically he was hand-picked there for us that evening as chief shop steward.

At first they were not going to permit me to speak at the meeting at all. I insisted upon it, and finally I was allowed to speak. I told the gathering that this was all new to me, that it was a complete surprise sprung on me, and that I was aware that—at least I thought I was responsible to the steward body. The steward body was with me. In fact, I had a signed petition—23 of them the next day signed a petition out of the 31 that were in accord with my conduct. I announced there that I could not have been touched if they had followed the constitution and bylaws of the local and attempted to attack me through the stewards' body. And they were well aware of it, because at various times the business representative and myself took opposing views on issues, and the rank and file and the stewards' body most generally upheld my position.

They were aware, each time that the political angle was involved in the question, we took the position that political activity was the individual's business, like his religion. If he happened to be of the Catholic faith, that was his business, or if he is of any other faith.

I pleaded to the group to be tried before them, because I knew that I would be asked to come down before the executive board, and I stated I would much rather be tried here than down there, as I had no confidence whatsoever in the executive board, and I made the statement that I would rather be tried before Hitler and Mussolini, as this was nothing but the "gestapo" of Irving Krane. That was the statement I made.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that statement?

Mr. MORGAN. I pleaded to the membership to override the position of the president.

Mr. THOMAS. What was it about Mussolini and Hitler?

Mr. MORGAN. I said I would get more justice before Mussolini and Hitler rather than to go down before the executive board, which I stated was Mr. Krane's "gestapo."

Mr. STRIPLING. That is the business agent?

Mr. MORGAN. The business agent; yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. As a matter of fact, did the business agent exercise any jurisdiction over the steward body?

Mr. MORGAN. He should not.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was just injecting himself into it?

Mr. MORGAN. He did from the very beginning, and he had no right to do so.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the action that you now have in court?

Mr. MORGAN. I have one other statement that I would like to make first.

Mr. STRIPLING. Very well.

Mr. MORGAN. I was told that I would receive a registered letter from the office stating when the executive board would meet, and I would be asked to come before the executive board. When I received this letter—in fact, I notified them at all meetings never to send notices to my house, as I would not be there to receive them, and I have a Government box, and I would have to go to the post office, which would make delay, and to send it to the shop always. They sent this, evidently, to the house. When I received the letter it read that I was to appear before the executive board on Tuesday, January 27, and come prepared to defend myself, as these charges lodged against me were of a very serious nature.

At that time I had no counsel as yet. Not knowing just which way to turn, I was undecided what steps to take, so I immediately obtained counsel, William J. Grace, of Chicago, and he advised me what the maneuver was possibly; that the following Tuesday would be the executive board meeting, and he advised me to come with him and we would go to that executive board meeting, as it would not be January 27, at all. So the following Tuesday a group from the shop and we met down there and, true enough, they had the executive board meeting the night of June 27, and Mr. Krane stated at that meeting that there had been an error in my letter, and that there already had been another letter following it up, stating that it was to be the evening of June 27. But I have not received it.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, you were given the impression that the trial was to be next January?

Mr. MORGAN. January 27, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Instead of June 27?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. If I had not been notified by the attorney I would not have gone down, thinking it was January 27, but he told me immediately that was the tactics used by such a set, and to put in my appearance in there on that night.

Mr. COSTELLO. A deliberate typographical error in the letter?

Mr. MORGAN. Definitely it was. And it didn't even state what year.

Well, when I went down there at the executive board meeting it was called for 8 o'clock, but before we really started the meeting was about 9. The officials of the union observed that I had counsel with me, and immediately when we congregated in that little room, two individuals of the executive board, whose names I can't recall just offhanded, took the floor and made a motion to the effect that those that are not members of this union vacate the room. That was seconded by another one of the executive board—Anna Luminix, I am quite sure, is the

name—she seconded the motion, and Mr. Amato put the motion before the gathering, and naturally it carried. That left me completely without counsel. That included my attorney as well.

I called the attention of the chairman that at the present time I was without counsel and I had no intention of defending myself, and I figured that in America I had a right to counsel.

Mr. COSTELLO. Does the constitution of the local provide that in the event of charges being preferred you are entitled to have counsel to represent you?

Mr. MORGAN. It does. Well, the whole constitution had been violated—the procedure had been violated. I pointed out—I said: “Mr. Krane is not only a business representative but he is also an attorney and he is representing the union here against me. It is only fair that I be represented by counsel. Furthermore, he should be included in being excluded from the room, as he should not even be a member.” Immediately he produced his book, which is very much in question, the provisions for becoming a member in the local would automatically exclude him from becoming a member. He is an attorney and he is not entitled to membership in the union; nevertheless he did represent the union at that affair.

I sat there for approximately an hour or an hour and a half, and before the meeting adjourned I was permitted to have the floor, and I announced that my saying anything further would not add nor detract from the situation, and I excused myself from the meeting.

That very evening, or the first thing in the morning, it was in the papers to the extent that I had been suspended as chief shop steward, and also suspended as a member in the union, which automatically would leave me in the position that I should be fired from the company, or at least they could press the charges and have me dismissed.

Mr. THOMAS. Right there, Mr. Morgan, in addition to this job that you had with the union in the company, did you have another job with the company?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What was your regular job?

Mr. MORGAN. I was a turret-lathe operator in department 4.

Mr. THOMAS. So all this time you were a turret-lathe operator?

Mr. MORGAN. When I could spare the time I was in my department working, but when the union was new it took practically all of my time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Describe to the committee the action which you have taken in court against the union.

Mr. COSTELLO. What was your question, Mr. Stripling? I didn't hear it.

Mr. STRIPLING. I asked him what action he has taken against the union. He has a court action pending.

Mr. MORGAN. The entire shop is well aware that we five that constituted the organizing committee—

Mr. STRIPLING (interposing). Referring to those five, did they resign also?

Mr. MORGAN. They have resigned since I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. The five shop stewards who worked with you to help organize the plant?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. You were succeeded in your position by Wagner Lofgren?

Mr. MORGAN. I was; yes.

Mr. COSTELLO. Was any other election held to fill the top position other than the one held that evening by the general assembly?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; at the first general assembly meeting held thereafter, Mr. Churchill was present and he forced the issue to the extent of having a permanent chief steward and not a temporary one, so Mr. Krane made the statement that at the next steward body meeting there would be a chief steward election, and the result was Mr. Lofgren was sustained as chief steward.

Mr. COSTELLO. Was anyone placed in nomination beside Lofgren?

Mr. MORGAN. To my knowledge there was not. There was only a small gathering, a very small gathering there.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Lofgren would know those who attended the Abraham Lincoln School, would he?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir. He graduated from the Abraham Lincoln School.

One thing that served dominantly in the destruction of the harmony that existed in the shop was this: While discussing the contract in negotiation, the officials of the union attempted to get the right, or permission, to circulate this U. E. News in the shop, and I felt, and the committee as a whole felt, that whatever decision was arrived at there with the management should be binding, as we expected the management to adhere to our understanding, and we didn't have the intention of violating any understanding with the management. A short time afterward, the three individuals, Julia Judinas, Wagner Lofgren, and Tony Tallarico—they are also members of the Lincoln School—they were the ones that, against the desires of the stewards' body, took it upon themselves to hand out these U. E. papers. At first they handed them out at the door.

The following Friday the superintendent went on his vacation, and they stepped inside of the door. He would not be back for 2 weeks, and the following weeks they were about 25 feet further in the shop, and about the next week they were all the way in the shop. So, knowing that the superintendent had called the attention of the negotiating committee that he was going to hold me definitely responsible for the union in the shop—in fact, he asked that question, "Morgan is the man I deal with in the shop, representing the shop?" and Mr. Krane says: "That's right. In other words when I want anything where there is a violation or anything of that nature, Morgan is the fellow to see. Yes, sir; that's him."

Well, realizing that we had an agreement not to do such a thing, and knowing that that was of a political content—the entire paper was of a political content—I thought the company had granted that permission, but thinking I should also know of it, I investigated it. Being that the superintendent was gone, I called on the chief engineer, as he sat in at our meetings and he was well aware of everything that went on, and I questioned him as to whether this permission had been granted. If it was, I felt I should have known it, too, as I am being held personally responsible for what goes on in the shop.

He said: "No such permission has been granted. You know as well as I know the understanding that was reached in the negotiating committee."

"Well," I said, "they try to tell me different than I have understood, and I have got to have an understanding of that, because I am going to be held responsible for it. I must clear myself."

"Well," he said, "just let it ride and when the superintendent gets back I will see what we can do about it."

When the superintendent got back he called me immediately to the office, and he told me that—he said: "You are well aware of the understanding we had, not only once, but on three different occasions. I have the minutes right here to show that we discussed that, and the decision was arrived at that the management will not grant permission to hand that U. E. paper out in this shop. If you want to hand it out, do it outside the door." So I said, "Well, that was my understanding. That is why I have investigated it, because I knew I would be in the position where I would be held responsible and I don't intend to be made the goat." "All right," he said, "you are the one I am to hold responsible, so you will receive a good, stiffly worded letter, also the union will receive one, and I expect action on that to that extent."

From that time on, in fact, he just the same as said there would be legal action taken, he did not intend to tolerate that paper being handed out in the shop.

So I talked with Mr. Krane on that, and I told him that we had no such agreement, and I said: "Why are we stepping out of bounds?" "Well," he said, "Mr. Amato was present and he stated"—we were congregated at the grievance committee at the time, and he stated: "Well, that is how we generally get the paper into the shop. We start to hand out the paper, and the first thing you are at the door, and then you are inside—the weather is bad, or something, and you step inside. The first thing you know you are right in the shop, and the management hates to create a scene over that. Therefore you are in the shop, and the paper can be distributed."

Mr. STRIPLING. You objected to the distribution of the U. E. News yourself, did you?

Mr. MORGAN. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why?

Mr. MORGAN. Due to the editorial policy and the political contents.

Mr. STRIPLING. Does the rank and file of your local object to the editorial policy of the U. E. News?

Mr. MORGAN. It did, definitely.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the majority of the stewards object to it?

Mr. MORGAN. When it came to a vote, they voted to shut the paper out, and not distribute it at the shop, but instead to come out with our own paper, our own shop paper.

Mr. STRIPLING. In the action which you have brought in court do you seek to recover your dues membership and otherwise, on the ground that you did not join a labor union but that you joined a political organization?

Mr. MORGAN. That is correct. The grounds on which I have the court action is fraud and misrepresentation. I was of the impression—at least, the five of us on the committee were of the impression that we were formulating a labor union, not a political organization; therefore we were misrepresented.

Mr. THOMAS. After you were dismissed as steward and then from the union, did you still retain your job with the company?

Mr. MORGAN. I did.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you got that job today?

Mr. MORGAN. I have. They tried several times—in fact, the management came to me and told me that Mr. Krane and Mr. Amato both had come out and had attempted vigorously to have me fired. They pointed out that, according to the contract, which I had a large hand in—putting the maintenance of membership and check-off in the contract—they pointed out that I must remain a member in good standing with the union for the full duration of the contract, or I was in a position to be fired, that the executive board had taken action and suspended me as the chief shop steward, and also as a steward, therefore I was in a position to be let out of the shop. The management refused to do so. They said, “His record has been No. 1, as you pointed out to us during the organizing campaign.” Not only that, but the management pointed out that Mr. Krane on numerous occasions had praised me to the skies before the high management, before the War Labor Board, before the National Labor Relations Board, and before the negotiators, and before the grievance committee, on my conduct and activity as the leader in the union.

Mr. COSTELLO. If the management had put out a political paper and distributed it in the shop to the workers, they would have been charged with an unfair labor practice, would they not?

Mr. MORGAN. Exactly.

Mr. COSTELLO. It was all right for the union to go ahead and do the same thing within the shop, and that would be a fair labor practice.

Mr. MORGAN. I have been blamed—in fact, these three that the union are working with, and they have the direct benediction of the local—I have been blamed for them not being able to pass any petitions or anything out in the shop.

Mr. THOMAS. I want to make this point right there in regard to that. At the time this outside group was trying to distribute these political documents, the workers themselves are well satisfied with the conduct of the job that was being done by their own stewards and were satisfied with the kind of paper that they had, and they just didn't want to enter into political activities. I just wanted to make that point.

Mr. MORGAN. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are there any further questions by the committee?

Mr. COSTELLO. Just one other question. The main reason for ousting you as chief steward was because you would not accept the Communist instruction at the Abraham Lincoln School, and apparently they wanted to put in a man that had had that indoctrination, namely, Wagner Lofgren?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir. I might make this statement in reference to my court case. We do have definite and conclusive proof on the whole communistic angle, but I have been instructed by my counsel not to reveal it before the Dies committee.

Mr. COSTELLO. It is just typical of another case in which the Communists have taken control of the union after it has been organized, and typical of the manner in which that is done.

Mr. MORGAN. Exactly. And when that paper was shoved under my face those three were sitting there—in fact, I made the statement

in the presence of the two officials, that here is where the Communists take over. That is the very statement I made.

Mr. THOMAS. And the Communists did take over?

Mr. MORGAN. The Communists did take over.

Mr. COSTELLO. In other words, that is what the C. I. O. is attempting to do in establishing their brand of democracy. That is the opinion of yourself as one of the original organizing committee?

Mr. MORGAN. No question about that.

Mr. COSTELLO. That is the idea they have in mind when they say they are a National Citizens Political Action Committee, nonpartisan, that they are out to elect Franklin D. Roosevelt and a progressive Congress to win the war and make the peace. I presume they want to elect a Congress they can dictate to, as they dictate to the union, the local and the chief stewards.

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all, Mr. Morgan.

I will call Mr. Churchill.

TESTIMONY OF ELMER HENRY CHURCHILL, CHICAGO, ILL.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Costello.)

Mr. COSTELLO. Will you state your name for the record?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Elmer Henry Churchill. Address, 1700 North Humboldt Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. COSTELLO. You were subpoenaed, were you, Mr. Churchill, to appear before this committee?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That is right.

Mr. COSTELLO. And you are appearing here in response to that subpoena?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Churchill, where are you employed?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Chicago Flexible Shaft.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Approximately between 13 and 14 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What type of work do you do in the plant?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I was polishing and buffing until the war broke out. Now I am a stub-lathe operator.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you active in the organization of the union in this plant in the early days of the organization drive?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Well, I would not say "early days"—about August to September 1942.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You became active in August or September 1942?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hear the testimony of the witness, Mr. Harry Morgan?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He testified concerning the identity of this union and the various persons connected with it. Was his testimony correct, according to your own information?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right, all but one thing, and that was the constitution and bylaws. I think he said "local." That was the national office constitution and bylaws, because we did not have any constitution and bylaws in the shop until I went down and got them typewritten on a piece of paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say you became active in the organization of the union in August or September 1942. Were you associated in that organization activity with Mr. Morgan?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long did you continue active in the organization work?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Until about the 8th of July.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the following year?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Of this year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you at any time during the organization—that is, prior to the time of the certification of the union—lose interest in its activities?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state why you lost interest?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That was when they passed out the leaflet on which was Mr. McKeough, I believe is the name, and before that I had said I would come in if there would not be any politics connected with it, and when this leaflet was handed out, I refused to go on from there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That must have been in the fall of 1942.

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes; the fall of 1942, until I met Mr. Morgan and Ted Baer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just a minute, Mr. Churchill. Let us get some of these facts before you go ahead. You had been active for a few weeks?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you had agreed to be active on the basis that there would be no political activities carried on on the part of the union?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And a few weeks later you discovered that the people helping to organize the union were engaging in political activity on behalf of a certain candidate?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you resented that, and dropped out to some extent from the organization activity?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then later on you met Mr. Baer and Mr. Morgan?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Mr. Morgan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About what date was that?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I would say that was along in, possibly, October.

Mr. MATTHEWS. October 1942?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Prior to the election?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did Mr. Baer and Mr. Morgan say to you?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Well, I started in the door of the place where I worked, and Ted Baer hollered to me to come back, and I just waved my hand like that at him, and Morgan also called me, and I came back and they said, "How about getting back in the fight?" I told them, "No, as long as there are politics in the thing I won't take any part in it." And they told me there at the door that that was out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That there would be no politics?

Mr. CHURCHILL. There would be no politics from there on. And it went along for awhile, and I was working on a swing shift, 2 weeks day and two weeks night, and some of these meetings I could not attend on a Monday night, and I understood by hearsay that they were talking on this Political Action Committee at the stewards' council. So the next time I worked days, I attended the Monday night stewards' council meeting. Mr. Krane and Mr. Amato were there, and they wanted to start that Political Action Committee at this meeting, and there was also the issue about the U. E.-C. I. O. News about the headlines that stated not to buy the Chicago Tribune, and I got up at this meeting and told Mr. Krane that I didn't read the Chicago Tribune, and that I had voted three times for President Roosevelt, but that I thought it was unfair to try to regiment these people into one political idea.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean to say that they were even trying to dictate the newspapers that you were to read?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. THOMAS. You have told us that you voted three times for Mr. Roosevelt. How are you going to vote this time? [Laughter.]

Mr. COSTELLO. You don't have to answer that if you don't want to.

Mr. CHURCHILL. Well, I would say that's my own business. [Laughter.]

Mr. MATTHEWS. You took the position that a boycott was an improper activity for a labor union; is that correct?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That is right. And I also told Mr. Krane that I was bumping up against a problem in the shop, organizing where there were people that believed in the Republican Party, and there were people that believed in reading the Chicago Tribune, and I asked him how he expected me to organize those people, and he says, "Well, you are big enough, Churchill. You can change their minds on both those issues."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear of the *Danbury Hatters case*?

Mr. CHURCHILL. No; I have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which established the law in the United States that the boycott is an improper activity on the part of a labor union. I thought perhaps you knew the history of that.

What did you agree with these men, or did you agree with them, as to what you would do if they dropped politics?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I agreed that I would stay in and organize.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did you try it again?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I did, because the stewards' council had voted to keep politics out, and I thought as long as they would stay intact on that I would go along.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you made an officer of the union?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I was elected steward of department 42. Mr. Amato conducted that election across the street in the stadium.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So you were a member of this stewards' board in the shop?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir. And of the grievance committee and of the negotiation committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you on the grievance committee?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I was on the grievance committee until the 8th of July, when I resigned as steward.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is July of this year?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you resign from the union this year?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that you are not now an officer or a member?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right. Well, I understand they would not approve of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who would not approve of it?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Irving Krane. The statement, I believe, was in the Chicago Sun that he did not accept.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did not accept your resignation?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Did not accept the resignation of the four stewards that had resigned.

Mr. COSTELLO. That is, the stewards after the election, the rest of the board resigned?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That is right.

Mr. COSTELLO. But Irving Krane refused to accept their resignations?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know exactly what your status is at the present time with respect to union membership? You did resign?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you understand it has not been accepted?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. COSTELLO. Have you attended any meetings subsequent to that time, since your resignation?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. Have you acted as an officer?

Mr. CHURCHILL. No; I have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Since July 8? You resigned July 8?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I believe I did attend one meeting. I am not sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your contract with the management has a maintenance-of-membership clause, does it?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to that clause you would not be free to resign unless you subjected yourself to possible dismissal as an employee of the plant? Is that correct?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That is correct.

Mr. COSTELLO. That is, resigning as a member of the union?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. He is not free to resign, under the maintenance-of-membership clause at this time, because a sufficient period of time has elapsed to prevent that.

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. You do not have a closed-shop agreement?

Mr. CHURCHILL. No; we do not. I stressed that point to Mr. Krane when he started to tell us what paper we should read at this meeting, that we should not read the Chicago Tribune, and I told him, "We will never get a closed shop that way because these people resent that. They believe in other political beliefs."

Mr. COSTELLO. Too many other men in the plant believed in freedom and they didn't want to be dictated to?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever find yourself solicited to attend the Abraham Lincoln School?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Mr. Baer, Ted Baer, called me up and asked me to attend a meeting with him, and I went down to that meeting. I didn't know what kind of a meeting it was going to be until I got there, and there was a professor from the Abraham Lincoln School who spoke that night, and Ernest B. DeMaio, and they talked on enrollment in the Abraham Lincoln School, and they gave me a stack of enrollment lists—blanks—about that high [indicating], and they told me to take them out to the shop.

I listened to the rest of the meeting, and after the meeting was over I gave them to Ted Baer and told him that Harry Morgan was the chief steward and he was the one that should get those. They asked for the different ones, the chief steward of the different factories, to stand and represent their factory. When it came to the Chicago Flexible Shaft, Ted Baer tapped me on the shoulder and said, "You stand up and represent the Chicago Flexible Shaft." I said: "Well, Harry Morgan is the chief steward out there," and he said, "Well, Churchill, we are going to make you chief steward out there." I said, "The rank and file might have something to say about that," and he says, "That's all right. We will take care of that." Then I asked Harry Morgan if he had received those leaflets, and he said, "No."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you refuse to take these enrollment blanks for the Abraham Lincoln School?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I did. There were other matters there that I read the captions of. They seemed rather weird to me. I couldn't just say what they were now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall whether or not there was any literature of the Political Action Committee in the pile that was handed to you?

Mr. CHURCHILL. There was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you refused to take that also?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I refused to take it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it a matter of common report in Chicago, according to your information, that the Abraham Lincoln School is a subversive and communistic institution?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Well, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that your estimate of the school, your personal estimate?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you noticed in your own shop that the persons who have attended the Abraham Lincoln School conduct themselves as Communists?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no doubt about the Communist influence in the meetings from the Abraham Lincoln School?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I have no doubt about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that Mr. DeMaio himself is on the board of directors of the Abraham Lincoln School?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I have heard Ted Baer say that he was on there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your considered good judgment that Mr. DeMaio himself is a Communist?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir. Would that be definite?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't ask you whether or not you know that he holds a party membership in the form of a card, but has his conduct

in the affairs of the union been such as to convince you that he is a Communist?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your judgment concerning the Communist leadership of Local 1150 generally? Are the Communists strong in the leadership of Local 1150 in Chicago?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I would say "yes." I have no doubt about that, after being at some of the meetings that were conducted.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you noticed that members of the union who oppose communism openly find themselves in trouble now and then with the leadership of the union?

Mr. CHURCHILL. They do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you think that accounts in any way with the difficulty with the union that Mr. Morgan has had?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Will you please state that again?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you think that Mr. Morgan's opposition to political activity and to communism has had anything to do with his getting in trouble with them?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With the leadership of the union?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are convinced of that?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I am convinced of that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what action the union is likely to take in your case? Do you have any information about what they are going to do?

Mr. CHURCHILL. No; I have not as yet, but I have a pretty good idea that I am behind the eight ball.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are opposed to communism yourself?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just as you are opposed to political activity on the part of the union?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you believe wholeheartedly in the union, so long as it sticks to the economic interests of those who are employed in the plant?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you did work energetically as long as you thought that was the ground on which it was organized?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I did. In fact, I organized one-fifth of the membership in the Chicago Flexible Shaft.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That would be about how many members?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That would be approximately 150 or 160.

Mr. COSTELLO. Your idea was that you were organizing to build a union to represent the laborers themselves?

Mr. CHURCHILL. To represent the men and women in the shop.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say you organized them, do you mean that you personally solicited their membership?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And they did agree to become members on your solicitations?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you any other matters which you consider relevant to this particular hearing that you would like to state?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Amato was present at one of the meetings, and he asked me to ride home with him, or he would take me part way home, and we got to Roosevelt Road and Cisco Avenue, and he turned around the corner and stopped and he talked to me about having me come down and get on the executive board. He said, "You and Morgan, too, should be on that executive board." I said, "Maybe we will be elected and maybe we won't," and he said, "You come down and we will take care of that. We will see that you are on there."

Mr. COSTELLO. Indicating that he could control the election?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right. Then, coming to the ousting of Morgan, I walked into that meeting at exactly 8 o'clock. I asked the streetcar conductor what time it was, and I also looked at a clock just before I stepped into the meeting, and that was the time. When I walked into the meeting Mr. Krane said: "We will now read the charges against Harry Morgan," and I asked Mr. Krane why Mr. Morgan, our chief steward, was not chairing that meeting. At that, Pat Amato pounded the table and says, "Let's have order here at this meeting," and Krane went on and said, "I will continue to read the charges. We will have no discussion here tonight on the charges."

After the charges were read, they called for the election of a temporary chief steward, and I was nominated, and they asked us to walk up and stand with our faces to the wall while they conducted the election.

Mr. THOMAS. You didn't have any doubt about what they were going to do when they told you to stand against the wall, did you? [Laughter.]

Mr. CHURCHILL. No, I did not. The election was conducted, and I heard some of the people say, "Well, Churchill was elected anyway." I was not far from where Krane was conducting the election, and just as soon as they started to count the votes I walked close to Mr. Krane, and he had an envelope about the size of one of those brown ones there, he had it laying on his hand like this, and I saw him mark "22 votes" on there at that time, and he said "I am conducting this election. Wagner Lofgren is elected temporary chief steward for the Chicago Flexible Shaft."

Mr. COSTELLO. It is your opinion that he did not have a majority of the votes at that election?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That is right, at the hearing several people made that statement. And there were also several strangers there that I had never seen before go into Chicago Flexible Shaft or come out.

Mr. COSTELLO. In other words, there were people who were not members of the union present at the meeting?

Mr. CHURCHILL. That's right. Also, there was a gentleman there by the name of Joseph Grilly.

Mr. COSTELLO. Will you spell that name?

Mr. CHURCHILL. G-r-i-l-l-y. He took the floor and just insisted that he say something, and he asked why this election could not be conducted democratically through a secret ballot. Before that there had been several people hollered for a secret ballot, and before he got through talking, Pat Amato pounded the table and said, "You are out of order. There will be no discussion on the charges here tonight." After that I wanted to learn more about this and the constitution

and bylaws, and I wrote a letter to 1150 asking for a copy of the constitution and bylaws. I called up over the telephone and asked for a copy of the constitution and bylaws. I didn't get them. I have never seen one in the shop. I went down with Frank Jacobs a day later to get the constitution and bylaws, and the girl came over to us and asked us what we wanted, and we stated we wanted the constitution and bylaws. She said, "I will go over and look in the cupboard and see if there are any." And she brought back to us a copy of the constitution and bylaws of the national office, and we told her that that was not the one we wanted, that we wanted the one of the local. "Well," she says, "if you will wait a minute I will look around." And then she brought us back a copy of the constitution and bylaws, I would say a paper like this [indicating], several sheets, and she says, "I have one for you and I have one for Morgan." Then she told us who she had the other two for, and she said "That is all we have got."

Mr. COSTELLO. They were not regularly printed?

Mr. CHURCHILL. No, sir; they were not. They were not in booklet form. They were printed on regular typewriter paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know William Sentner?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know him by reputation? You have heard of Sentner, have you?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes; I have. I have read different articles by him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you aware of the fact that the national convention of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America has just been held?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, the New York Times of this morning states the following:

The Communist-supported administration of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, third largest affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, was returned to office yesterday with the reelection at the union's convention of Albert J. Fitzgerald, of Lynn, Mass., as president, and Julius Emspack, of New York, as secretary-treasurer.

Do you see the U E News?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you taken it regularly since you have been a member of the union?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes. They have sent the national papers, and they have passed out the Chicago U E News in front of the shop.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In reading the U E News, have you noticed any predominance of political discussion in its pages? Is there much political discussion?

Mr. CHURCHILL. There is..

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there a great deal said about the Political Action Committee?

Mr. CHURCHILL. There is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During the past year?

Mr. CHURCHILL. There is plenty.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you sufficiently well acquainted with Communist affairs to judge whether or not communism is present in the U. E. News?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Well, to a certain extent; yes. I am not very well acquainted with their ideas.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In effect; the New York Times story here makes the charge that the present top administration of the union is Communist-supported. Do you think that is a fair charge against the present leadership of the international union?

Mr. CHURCHILL. I would not want to say "fair." No; I would not want to say either way. I would not want to pass judgment on that.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know of any solicitation of funds for the Political Action Committee from members of that union?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Yes; there was a pamphlet handed out in our shop, approximately a week ago, soliciting that dollar, with a picture of President Roosevelt on the pamphlet.

Mr. THOMAS. That pamphlet came from what organization?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Local 1150.

Mr. THOMAS. And it said that those dollars were for what purpose?

Mr. CHURCHILL. Political action.

Mr. THOMAS. Did it say specifically for the election of any candidate?

Mr. CHURCHILL. To elect President Roosevelt.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to call the attention of the committee at this time to a letter from the office of the Attorney General, dated August 7, 1944, to the Honorable Martin Dies. This letter states this:

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This acknowledges receipt of your letter of August 4, 1944, calling to my attention and offering to make available to me information in the possession of your committee which suggests possible violations of the Hatch Act by Government employees and the Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee.

As you probably know, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Criminal Division of this Department have been actively engaged in an investigation of charges that the election provisions of the Smith-Connally Act, and other Federal election laws, have been violated by the Political Action Committee and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and persons associated with it. This investigation is a thorough one and will be continued until we have obtained all the available evidence and can reach a conclusive determination of whether and by whom such violations have been committed. I have instructed the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to obtain from you any evidence which you may have pertinent to this inquiry.

I think this gentleman's testimony is very pertinent to that investigation, and I would like to recommend to the committee that a copy of this testimony be sent to the Department of Justice.

Mr. COSTELLO. Without objection, that will be done. The clerk will see that a copy is made available to the Attorney General.

We thank you very much, Mr. Churchill, for appearing before the committee. So far as I know, I may say that Mr. Morgan and Mr. Churchill will be excused from any further attendance by reason of the subpoena that was served upon you.

This will conclude the hearing for today, and the committee will meet again tomorrow morning at 10:30, at which time Dock Williams will be the witness before the committee.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 10:30 a. m., Friday, September 29, 1944.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY,, SEPTEMBER 29, 1944

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO
INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. John M. Costello presiding.

Present: Hon. John M. Costello, California; Hon. J. Parnell Thomas, New Jersey.

Also present: Robert E. Stripling.

Mr. COSTELLO. The committee will be in order. The committee will resume the hearing of yesterday. Mr. Stripling, will you call the next witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. Our first witness will be Dock Williams.

TESTIMONY OF DOCK WILLIAMS, CHICAGO, ILL.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Costello.)

Mr. COSTELLO. State your name and address for the record.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Dock Williams, Chicago, Ill., 224 East Forty-eighth Street.

Mr. COSTELLO. You may proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you born, Mr. Williams, and give the date also?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Columbus, Miss., June 16, 1896.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever served in the armed forces of the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have. I enlisted April 25, 1917, at Pittsburgh, Pa., was sworn in at Fort Howard, Md.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you go overseas?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you do combat duty?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long were you in the Army?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Two years and three days.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are you at present employed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Wilson & Co., Inc., packers, Chicago.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the address?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Forty-second and National Avenue.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Twenty-one years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you now or have you ever been a member of a labor union?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I have. I was a member of the A. F. of L. in the early days of 1921, 1922, and 1923.

Mr. STRIPLING. What union was it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Local 76 of the Hod Carriers' Union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of a labor union at the present time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am; C. I. O. Local 25, U. P. W. A., Chicago.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is United Packinghouse Workers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right; of America.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first join the C. I. O.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In 1937—about October 17.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was the Packinghouse Workers Union in existence then or was that the organizing committee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was just the organizing committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you active as one of the first organizers for the packinghouse workers in the Chicago area?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was one of the first 17 to establish the organizing committee in the Chicago area as a whole for the packing industry.

Mr. STRIPLING. That was in 1937?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In 1937.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have been a member of the Packinghouse Workers Committee and now the union since that time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever held office in the Packinghouse Workers Union?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right. In 1937 I was the recording secretary and the volunteered organizer. In 1938 I was chief steward of the committee. In 1939 I was vice president.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is of the local in the Wilson plant?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the number of that local?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. 25.

Mr. STRIPLING. Local 25. And what district is it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. District 1.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say you were vice president in 1939?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. In 1940 I was elected president. I served as president in 1941, 1942, and 1943, and I was reelected January 26, 1944. Of course, I didn't serve that term out.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were elected in 1944 to serve out what period? When does the term ordinarily expire?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The term ordinarily would expire January 6, 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was the C. I. O. Packinghouse Workers Union certified as the union at the Wilson plant?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In 1943; February, about the 8th or 9th.

Mr. STRIPLING. About the 8th or 9th of February 1943?

Mr. WILLIAMS. 1943; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. And at that time how many dues-paying members did the local have?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In 1943 we had, roughly, dues-paying members, maybe fourteen or fifteen hundred. Those were dues-paying members. We had a paper membership of about 3,400.

Mr. STRIPLING. During the period from 1937 through 1943, when the union was certified, with whom did you work from the national organization or from the district organization in organizing the plant?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Frank McCarthy and C. H. Wildoski. That is a Polish name. I can't spell it.

Mr. STRIPLING. We will get the proper spelling for the record, Mr. Chairman. Would you name some of the others?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, our national chairman at the time was Sam Sponseller. He was chairman of the committee at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. During the early days of the organizing committee were there any individuals, to your knowledge, that had records of affiliation with Communist activities?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Since the inception of our union, in soliciting members, we always had people that were more interested in the Communist Party than they were in organizing the union, and of course they joined as such and openly solicited members. We would have a membership meeting, and the meeting would adjourn without anybody leaving the room, and then they would open the Communist meeting. That was in the early stages of the establishment of the union.

Mr. COSTELLO. I don't understand that, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. He said, Mr. Chairman, that in the rank and file, that is, in inviting, soliciting memberships, the Communists would come into the union and spread their doctrine. The point that I wanted to make was whether or not the Communists held positions of leadership in the organizing committee. That was to be my next question.

Mr. WILLIAMS. We were successful in the early stages of the union to be able to keep the known Communists from holding executive positions in our union. That was in the early stages of establishing the union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the Communists eventually take over the leadership?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; they did. In 1943, as early as February, at our first convention to establish the international union, the Communists got strong enough at that particular time to be able to put into office such people as they desired. That was in the international capacity of our union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who were some of the individuals?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Herbert March.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his position?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is the regional director now of district 1, Chicago area. Ralph Gant.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his position?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, he is on the P. A. C. pay roll now, soliciting members for Roosevelt.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is the Political Action Committee official?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. But is he on the pay roll of the packinghouse workers union?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; he is on the pay roll of the international.

Mr. STRIPLING. Before he went on the pay roll of the international as a Political Action representative, did he hold any position with the packinghouse workers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; he was chairman of the grievance committee in the Swift Chicago plant.

Mr. THOMAS. What is his position with the P. A. C.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is just soliciting members to help establish the various captains to serve in the various precincts and break down the membership into geographical areas and set up ward committeemen.

Mr. COSTELLO. He is organizing the local political set-up?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right. He is a chief.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you give the committee the names of any other officials whom you consider to be Communists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I believe Jesse Proston of district 1 now, originally from Boston.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you spell the name?

Mr. WILLIAMS. P-r-o-s-t-o-n.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position has he held in the union?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He has been business representative. We call them "representative" in the C. I. O. We don't call them "business agent." He has been business representative, and he also served on the 10-man committee which was to take care of inequalities, according to directed orders from Washington here. That is his capacity.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is an important official in that area?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Now we have a couple of fellows, Phil Wheatman, vice president of the international. He served in an executive capacity.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you consider him to be a Communist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I know he is. He is my people, and I know him to be a Communist.

Mr. COSTELLO. What was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is my people. I know him to be a Communist. He is colored. He is pretty much in my own neighborhood and I know him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Rufus Martinez?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I do. He is also a Communist of the worst type, and he was instrumental in getting about three or four of my people killed out on the South Side in the early days of the depression preaching that stuff in the parks.

Mr. STRIPLING. Does he hold any position?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; he is representative and business agent of the international union. He is also up for deportation. Somehow or other he hasn't been sent out of the country yet. He is not a citizen.

Mr. THOMAS. How long has he been up for deportation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The last hearing was in March, because he came to my union and asked for Marshall Pope. On March 10 this year there was supposed to be a hearing in Chicago for the deportation of Rufus Martinez.

Mr. THOMAS. What country does he come from?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mexico.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you known him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. About 8 or 9 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. He has been up for deportation at least 8 or 9 years?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that Mr. Stripling be authorized to investigate that deportation matter and report to the chairman on it.

Mr. COSTELLO. You might contact the Department, Mr. Stripling, and find out just what has happened up to this time, why the delay. It is not difficult to return citizens to Mexico on account of the war or for any other reason. Find out why the delay in this particular case.

Mr. THOMAS. While you are on that subject I think we ought to have the record on this Mrs. Browder case, and when we get that Browder record, Mr. Chairman, I would appreciate it if you and I could go into executive session and look into it thoroughly.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Williams, as one of the original organizers of the Packinghouse Workers Union in the Chicago area, and one who has held various positions, as well as president of your own union, which is a large local, do you consider that the men whom you have named here are in control of the union in the Chicago area?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do. I consider that Herbert March is definitely in control of the Chicago area, along with the other fellows that I have outlined here as his agents. They practically do as they please in the Chicago area, so far as the packing-house industry is concerned.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is there any question in your mind as to the Communist philosophy of these people?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I have had a lot of contact with those people; in fact, they have tried for the last 6 or 8 years to convert me to their way of thinking. They openly parade, and particularly with my people who are being discriminated against—"Of course, if you join this outfit you will be looked upon as such and such a thing, and the governor will not—we will be able to control the various industries, as such, and there will be no way for you to be discriminated against." Of course, a good many of my people fall for that without having an explanation of how it could be accomplished and what means would be used to gain that end. I have fought that down for the last 6 or 7 years, contending that it is not the answer to my people's problem, and no one else's problem, and we have done a pretty good job in the Wilson plant of creating a feeling between the various groups that was satisfactory, so far as I was concerned, and we have been always able to hold it off until they surrounded us with what I contend to be a Communist group, when they were able to get in control on October 15, 1943, when Herbert March became regional director; Phil Wheatman, vice president; and Ralph Gant became business representative along with Rufus Martinez. Then the people that resented those things, a move was immediately started to purge them from office.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, you say these people took control during October 1943. Prior to that time had there been any political action or educational program?

Mr. WILLIAMS. As early as June or July, the first we were requested, as presidents of the various locals, to call a special meeting of the chief stewards and the executive board to get acquainted with the program that had just been outlined.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is July 1943?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right. I can't recall whether this meeting was to be held in Washington or whether it was to be held in New York. I am satisfied it was one of those places. On return from that meeting Herbert March, of course, happened to be a delegate along with some more, and he called in all the various presidents and told them that there was going to be established an educational program in order to acquaint the various presidents and the members as well with just

who the reactionaries were in Congress, who had voted against labor, who had supported labor, and who was against progress. To which I had no objection. In establishing that program outlined as an educational program we were required to establish in each local a committee to work along that line, educationally. We were to be furnished literature from time to time outlining the various acts of Congress and various agencies that were opposed to labor. That was very good. We had gone along with the program on the educational point. Through 1943 and in January we were told a little different story, that it was necessary to have a reasonable amount of money to carry on this program.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was this meeting at which you were told about the money? You say in January?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In January; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. January 1944?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right; January 1944.

Mr. STRIPLING. And it was a meeting of what?

Mr. WILLIAMS. This was a district meeting, what we call a conference, district conference, and these committees were set up at that conference, resolution committees and planning committees, political action committees. I was appointed representative of the Political Action Committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were appointed the representative of political action for your local?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right. I was appointed along with Ralph Gant, Hank Schoenstein, and Jesse Vaughn, who was president of one of the smaller locals. This committee, I think, was five—I can't recall the name of the fifth man—and it was brought out by Ralph Gant at that meeting that it was going to be necessary, in order to carry out this program, to tax all the members in the district, of which we have 34 locals, I think, or twenty-some—I can't recall exactly, but it was based on the pro rata share would be a dollar, based on the ability of each local to pay according to how many members it had. For local 25, of which local I am president, it would be \$1,500, an equal amount from the Swift local—well, more than an equal amount, I think \$2,200, to be exact, from the Armour local. That fund was to be used to pay the people for a break-down of the list of members in all the locals in Chicago, so far as the packing-house industry is concerned. For instance, a gang of members from all the plants would live in the Tenth District. They were to break down into three divisions. One was to be sent to the regional office, one to McKeough's office, and one was maintained in the local as such.

The list of those names was to be furnished to the various committees as set up, which would go from house to house and contact those individual people, have them to know the program and who to vote for.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who laid this program of political action before the conference?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Ralph Gant reported back to Herb March, and Herb March took it over and addressed the assemblage as a whole on this particular issue. Four people had supported this particular program of our committee of five. Of course, I rejected it on the grounds that at that particular time there was nothing in our constitution that

outlined or made possible the assessment of members for such action, and as such I hesitated to feel that I had the power to go on record before having a session meeting of my executive board. And then, too, my own particular local felt that I didn't have the power to say that I would allot the \$1,500.

Upon making a report back to the floor, of course, Mr. Gant explained to Herbert March that everybody had gone along with the program very well but that I was out of line. Mr. March stated that, inasmuch as everybody else was for the program, he saw no reason, because there was a few reactionaries, that it should have any bearing on carrying it out.

The following Tuesday I called a meeting of the executive board and invited Mr. March to attend and outline to my executive board exactly what he told me and the course of action they would take along that line.

Mr. STRIPLING. Your executive board was composed of whom?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Member stewards and stewardesses in Local 25.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many members sat on the board?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Thirteen members of the board—14 including myself. And, of course, I had spoken in opposition to this way of doing business at the convention, and I had the chance, working in the plant, to contact most of the executive board before Tuesday, and I told them my feelings about it, and they emphasized that they felt that I had done the right thing. However, Mr. March outlined the political-action program. He told them how necessary it was to be granted the privilege of having this money, and that the salvation of the unions depended upon the political-action program and what have you. After he had finished elaborating, of course, I spoke in opposition to Mr. March and suggested that we would have a secret ballot at which it would be agreed upon, and we did. The secret ballot was taken and the entire executive board supported my position 100 percent.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is, against any political action?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Against any political action.

Mr. STRIPLING. And against the assessing of the members, the treasury of your local for \$1,500?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right. On the return of the ballots and Mr. March finding the position that the executive board had taken as a whole, he then started a procedure of which we know, to oust me from office. He interceded with some of the fellows, particularly Mr. Charles Peters, that ran against me for president, to claim that it was not sufficient time, or the people hadn't been sufficiently notified in the plant that there was going to be an election, and as such, if he would go along with his program he would have room to oust me from office.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are referring to the election when you were elected president?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And that was held approximately when?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was held January 6, 1944.

Mr. STRIPLING. By what vote were you elected in January?

Mr. WILLIAMS. One thousand three hundred and sixty-five people had taken part in the election, and my opponent received 124 votes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yet it is your opinion that Mr. March had your opponent claim that the election was unfair?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; by not having sufficient time or notice, in spite of the fact that the nomination of officers was December 16 and the election was held January 6. The constitution provides for 2 weeks' notice, and of course that was more than 2 weeks. That was about all Mr. March claimed, and on March 20, not being able to find anything against me, I received a letter from the president of the international union stating that we were no longer wanted in the union as such, as officers, and myself and the entire executive board were expelled.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the international office have such authority under the constitution?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Or bylaws of the union?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir. Under the constitution and bylaws of our union, it states that each local shall have its autonomy and shall abide by the laws as such of the international pertaining to per capita tax, and in case a local gets behind in per capita tax the national has power to revoke its charter or take any other necessary action to obtain the agreement that is made between the various locals.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was your local at that time delinquent in its payments?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir; we didn't owe the national office a dime. We had a surplus on hand at that particular time, and to be very well covered I called in a State auditor and had the books audited, and the auditing of the books by the State auditor showed that our books were accurate and there was no misappropriation of funds in any way; and when we pressed the national office for an answer of why we were thrown out, he said because there had been several complaints against the way we have been handling grievances, in spite of the fact that I had handled all grievances of the union for 5 years, since the inception of the union.

Mr. STRIPLING. What other reasons did they give?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They said I was in collusion with management, in spite of the fact, so far as collusion with management goes, we had gained some \$250,000 or \$300,000 in concessions under the directed order in the form of raises and inequalities. So that would not take—so far as the membership is concerned, there could not be any reason as not handling ourselves as proper officers. In spite of that fact, not only the people that were on the grievance committee were turned off but the entire executive board that only served in an executive capacity when we were having meetings to decide the program—he turned them off, too; turned them off, in my judgment, because they had substantiated my position that I had taken along the political action.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was there any objection to the political-action program in the assessment of money against the rank and file of the union?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. What action did you take after they ousted you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. After I had been ousted from office, after contacting Mr. Haywood, Allan Haywood, director of organization; Mr. Frank Bender, his assistant; Mr. McDonald; and upon receipt of a letter from them that they felt that they had no right to intercede in the private affairs of our own international—in other words, that I could

not receive any assistance—I filed suit against the international executive board. The hearing was before the Honorable Judge McGoorty. He assigned the case to a master in chancery, Hon. Mr. Kelly, and on the hearing he rendered this decision: He sent a recommendation back to the judge that there was no grounds for the action that had been brought against the members of Local 25 or its executive board; that there had been nothing brought out at the hearing that we had misappropriated any funds or had carried ourselves in any way unrespectable, and as such he recommended that a permanent injunction be issued against the international office from interfering.

On June 16, hoping to be able to work along with the international, and not cause any publicity or anything that would retard the progress of our union, we met and drew up a stipulation wherein local 25 would act, the officers would go back and serve in the original capacity—and that stipulation was drawn up before the judge—we would go back and allow the people a chance to speak again in the form of emphasizing whether or not they wanted a change of administration or whether or not they wanted to maintain the same officers.

When we went back to have this say out with the people, Mr. March, I contend, along with these reactionaries of his, had the ballots marked officially by the judge and placed in the hands of various people within the plant, in order that they could vote twice, but in passing the literature, or the ballots, out, he made a mistake and he passed them into the hands of a lot of people that were my friends. We were able to obtain 135 official ballots that had been distributed throughout the plant, in order that a person, John Jones or May Lock could go down and say, "Give me a ballot," but would already have one.

So, when we came in possession of the ballots, the court had already assigned my turn as a watcher at the polls. I immediately took the ballots and gave them to my attorney, so he told me to cease trying to electioneer or trying to get anybody else to vote; he thought he had sufficient evidence to substantiate our position in court. Then we went back to court, and the attorney for Mr. March—I can't recall his name offhand—got up and stated that the election had been fair. Of course he didn't know at the particular time that I had 135 official ballots. The judge asked him how he could say that the election had been fair, had been so fairly held, if the ballots had got away, and he asked him for a tally or count of the ballots, and he stated to the judge that there might have been five or six ballots that were not accounted for, owing to a mistake in the count, but he was satisfied that it was not any more. The judge asked then how he could account for me having 135 of such ballots. Of course, he could not answer that question, and the judge would not dismiss the case, and now the case is before the judge for hearing on the 18th.

Mr. STRIPLING. The 18th of October?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The 18th of October.

Mr. STRIPLING. Prior to that, when you were first removed, you and your executive committee, did you go to the president, the national president of the union?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Appear before him and present your case?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. What action did he take?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He drew up a stipulation stating that he thought that my position was right, and he thought that he had the right to support my executive board, and as such he called in the secretary and had the secretary to sit down and word a letter to the members stating his position, to be mimeographed, and I was to wait to carry out the leaflets to spread the good news that we were in the good graces of the president.

Mr. STRIPLING. You had been reinstated by the international?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right. Someone notified Herb March, and Herb March came to the international office, 205 Wacker Drive, in Chicago, and when he got there he read the agreement by the president, and he took offense and tore it up, said it wasn't going to be, that I was never going to head the local any more, and he overruled the president.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is only the regional director, is he not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right, he is regional director.

Mr. STRIPLING. How could he overrule the president?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the executive board, as such, as I contend, is made up mostly out of the Communists, and they control the executive board, and of course as such, Herb is the predominant factor in the executive board.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is he the dominant factor in the Packinghouse Union, the international?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right. I think he has a loud voice in the Packinghouse Workers Union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Getting back now to the political action, you were selected as the political-action representative of your local. During the time that political action was being outlined, what was the program and what were March and the others doing to promote political action?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they weren't promoting political action as such. They were parading behind political action, but at the same time sponsoring and helping their own program, so far as P. A. C. was concerned.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you were removed, did you go to March at any time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you make a proposal to him about political action?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right. I went to March because he emphasized that if I wasn't so bull-headed or could be used, he would be glad to work along with me. So I went to March and told him, inasmuch as he wanted me to work along with him, and I certainly didn't want to do anything that I felt was wrong, I proposed that inasmuch as our plant was made up out of various segments of people and various phases, that we take and put on an educational program along the lines of establishing a Democratic machine and a Republican machine.

Mr. STRIPLING. Set up a joint political action committee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Right. I said, for instance, "This \$1,500, we will split it 50-50. We will give each side an equal chance."

Mr. STRIPLING. \$750 to the Democrats, \$750 to the Republicans?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right. I said, "That is the way our plant is made up." Of course, then we broke again. I contended that inasmuch as we had been fighting, especially myself, from time to time, sending in petitions to Congress here along the lines of no tax in the form that a person would have the right to vote——

Mr. STRIPLING (interposing). You mean poll tax?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right. We have sent petition after petition along that line. Well, I felt that it would be so silly to tax my people in the plant, knowing that some were Republicans and some were Democrats—to tax them all and say, "All of you are Democrats today." I would feel equally concerned if they were all going to say tomorrow they would be Republicans and be taxed as such.

That was my position along the line. For that I made a bad fellow out of myself.

Mr. THOMAS. He didn't think much of that idea?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, it didn't work.

Mr. STRIPLING. To your knowledge, how are the funds of the union treasury in the packinghouse local being used to further political activity?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, for instance, political action as such—there are stewards and people that will go along with the people called by telephone or notified by letter or telegraph to report to the national office or the regional office as such, and are told to do certain things, that is, to contact certain people or furnish a list of names, and those people go out and do the campaign work according to the direction of the district office, and of course it is conducted from the union treasury.

Mr. STRIPLING. You mean that an employee in the plant is instructed or notified by the union that he is to engage in union activity for a period of 1 month or 2 months?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And the company has to release the employee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; the company doesn't release the employee as such. Here is what they do: They don't place a man in a permanent position; they only call him out for 2 or 3 days, which is permissible so far as the company is concerned, for him to be off. Then they take John Jones, for instance, and if John loses 38 hours, that is made up out of the union treasury. Then they may take a lady the next time and send her out to do campaign work, and if she loses 3 days, it is made up out of the union treasury. The union pays for that lost time, based upon the amount of money he could have earned.

Mr. THOMAS. Let us get that straight. As I understand it, one of the employees of the Wilson Co., who is a member of the union, is told to go out and campaign, that is, enter into a political campaign, and if he loses a week's time or a month's time he is docked by the company, but the union pays it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right. He gets nothing from the company.

Mr. THOMAS. But the company loses his services for that time? Is that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The company loses his services, naturally, but he doesn't lose any time.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that the practice of the Political Action Committee, telling employees to go out on campaign work?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They are doing it now.

Mr. THOMAS. And when they send a man out, the company loses his services, even though a war is on?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right. There is no question about that. Those things are facts.

Mr. COSTELLO. That is the general policy of the C. I. O. unions throughout the country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they do that to avoid—I contend they do it the way they do in order to stay within the bounds of the law. But nevertheless, they are doing it, and I resent it.

Mr. COSTELLO. Any number of C. I. O. union members may be absent from a plant at a given time on campaign work?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. COSTELLO. And the union pays the salary he would have earned if he had been working at the plant?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right. He brings in a statement from the foreman showing how much time he lost, and a grievance slip is made out in the form of a grievance. Of course, that slip says he was on grievance business, but you just don't have grievances from the plant; you have them within the plant.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that universal, and is there much time lost in that way?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is the general practice since this campaign has been going on. It is the general practice.

Mr. COSTELLO. How many of your members might be absent on any given date?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They don't generally take over 2 or 3 days, but in district 1 there are some 22 or 23 locals. Now, in order to control those various locals, naturally the absences have to be equally proportioned, and naturally if they would use two or three from one given plant it would not be so noticeable to get the same amount from the other plant, and then they have, when they get through, a very nice field of campaign workers to do campaigning.

Mr. THOMAS. In that campaigning is it the rule to send out the Communists or the graduates of the Abraham Lincoln School?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The fellows that serve in that capacity are looked upon as captains of ward committees. They serve in that capacity. They are on the permanent pay roll of the national office, not the local.

Mr. THOMAS. I mean the people that go out and do the campaigning, have you found that generally they are the Communists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mostly predominating; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I mean the people that go out and do the campaign-

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, mostly; particularly predominating are Communists.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I think the point here is that the union treasury, the funds of the union, are being used indirectly for political purposes, without the rank and file of the union having any opportunity to pass on it. For instance, if 30 men are sent out in a month from local 25, and they lost, say, 2 days apiece at \$10, \$120 a day, that would be \$600, which would be taken from the union treasury without the union members having anything to say about it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That's right.

Mr. THOMAS. That is another matter that should be referred to the Attorney General, along the line of the testimony yesterday, and I

suggest that this testimony also be submitted to the Attorney General.

Mr. COSTELLO. Another point that might be made there is not only the fact of the amount of money coming out of the union treasury without authorization, but it is, in effect a form of campaign contribution which does not show as a contribution to any political party. It is purely a union transaction within the union and does not actually show on the books of any candidate. However, I think a very important thing from a military or war standpoint is the fact that all over the country the C. I. O. is using their members to take political holidays from their work, instead of producing munitions that they are supposed to be producing for the war effort. It may not be a vital factor, but at the same time, every little bit helps.

Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with the treasuries of the various locals? For instance, in your own local do you have a large balance of money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, as of the 12th of this month we had, roughly, 12 or 13 thousand dollars that was paid out in a lump sum. From all indications, or from information that I have from reliable sources that are in a position to know as to now, practically all of that money has been exhausted in various ways, such as literature, paying for papers, advertisements, and purchasing various books and—well, I would say campaign literature and what have you. That money is practically exhausted. There is not much left. We have in the particular Chicago area a take of about \$25,000 a month, so far as the union membership is concerned, and out of that from time to time those treasuries are completely drained here of late by the same source. I venture to say that if the books of the P. A. C. were seized and they were allowed to be audited and they would have to account for the money that has been spent in the last 8 months, you wouldn't find three locals in the district, regardless of the amount of membership they have, particularly since Herbert March and the Communists have predominated in our union—you wouldn't find an asset on the books of \$2,000, because they take it as fast as they get it.

Mr. THOMAS. And they take it for political purposes?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they have a way of covering that up. They don't name it that, but when you do get through that is my opinion. That is my honest opinion. The educational program is very seldom referred to without it dealing directly from a communistic angle. There is nothing in the world that I would less prefer my children to know than what has been taught in that program—mostly that you should hate either this man if he opposes the program, or you should despise this party as such; you should not like the Congress because they didn't act favorably on such and such a position; you should not like the Dies committee because they are against labor, and such stuff as that. That is what is being taught in various meetings that we have throughout the country. Each local headquarters today is made absolutely a school for the Communist Party, and I am very sure of that.

Mr. STRIPLING. What percentage of your membership is colored?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Forty percent of the membership in my plant are colored. Forty percent that go to make up the membership are Mexican and colored people, and 60 percent white.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you still a member of the union?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I am a member of the union.

Mr. STRIPLING. What has been the penalty that they have placed upon you for rebelling against the political dictation by Hérbert March?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am supposed to remain as a member of Local 25 in good standing, but not supposed to hold any position in an executive capacity until 1948. That is the penalty that I have pending now.

Mr. STRIPLING. Even though you have been president of your local for 4 years?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; president of the local for 4 years, and I was one of the first 17 men in the packing industry, in the union, not as a local, but as a committee to establish a local, or committee even in the packing industry in district 1, the first 17 people in the entire district. We now boast a membership of at least 18,000. Of course, I just got to the place that I was not sufficiently qualified to act as such since Mr. March took over, and I opposed political action.

Mr. STRIPLING. Another example of building up the union to strength, and then having the Communists take it over?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, it is pretty hard to feel that you are trying to abide by the Constitution as an American citizen. I may say that in my local I do try to deal that way with the various groups of people. I think I am elected by the majority. My record proves that. In my particular local we have never had a major strike. I have always been able to stop that. The Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy has given us the E award and the silver star. All that was under my administration, and of course no one attacks that, but the Communist Party, to my information, and because of this political angle entering into the picture.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. COSTELLO. Thank you, Mr. Williams, for coming before the committee. You may be excused from further attendance at the committee hearings.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, in regard to the next meeting, I have to leave town this afternoon and will not be back until next Monday noon. A meeting will be all right for me Monday afternoon, or we can meet Tuesday morning, but I would appreciate it if we could recess until either Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning.

Mr. COSTELLO. I think it would be better for the committee to meet Tuesday morning. The committee will then stand adjourned at this time until Tuesday morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon, at 11:30 a. m. the subcommittee adjourned until 10:30 a. m. Tuesday, October 3, 1944.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1944

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO
INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. John M. Costello, presiding.

Present: Hon. John M. Costello, of California, and Hon. J. Parrell Thomas, of New Jersey.

Also present: Mr. J. B. Matthews, research director, and Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator.

Mr. COSTELLO. The committee will be in order and we will continue the hearing. Dr. Matthews is before us this morning. You may proceed, Doctor.

STATEMENT OF J. B. MATTHEWS, RESEARCH DIRECTOR, SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, because of the vast detail involved in showing that the National Citizens Political Action Committee is a Communist front organization it will be necessary to deal with it in sections. This morning I should like to take up the question of the Attorney General's indirect, and perhaps unwitting, indictment of the National Citizens Political Action Committee as a Communist front organization.

Mr. COSTELLO. Let me ask you one question there. Has the original C. I. O. Political Action Committee been disbanded and succeeded by the Citizens Political Action Committee, or are they both functioning?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is my understanding that the C. I. O. Political Action Committee is being held in abeyance because of technicalities involving the law, and that at the present time the National Citizens Political Action Committee is the organization which is being used to carry on this campaign.

Mr. COSTELLO. It is carrying on all of the original functions of the C. I. O. Political Action organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That appears to be the situation.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to have this clear in the record. The drive for funds is coming from the C. I. O. Political Action Committee. The drive for funds is not coming from the other organization? Is that your understanding?

Mr. MATTHEWS. My understanding is that the funds of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee have been frozen during the present political campaign, and that moneys that are coming in are coming into the treasury of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, even though they are being solicited from C. I. O. unions, among others.

Mr. COSTELLO. The source of the funds is still the same?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The source of the funds is approximately still the same.

The Attorney General on May 28, 1942, issued an order for the deportation of Harry Bridges from the United States on the ground that he was an alien Communist. There are two statements in the Attorney General's brief which have a direct bearing on the question of the National Citizens Political Action Committee. The first of those statements is included in the Attorney General's findings of fact. On page 31 of his brief the Attorney General found:

That the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

Parenthetically it is pertinent to observe that this particular finding of fact was made in 1942, in May of that year, which is the period or phase under which the Communist Party at the present time is operating. It cannot be alleged, in other words, that this finding of the Attorney General belongs to some former period of Communist activity. It belongs to the present period, post-dating Pearl Harbor and Hitler's attack on Russia, and coinciding with the present military alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr. COSTELLO. The mere dissolution of the Communist Party, so-called, would have no bearing upon it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is our contention that the dissolution of the Communist Party during the present year was merely to advance the objective which the Attorney General himself stated was the objective of the Communist Party in the order for the deportation of Harry Bridges.

On page 11 of the Attorney General's memorandum for the deportation of Harry Bridges there is a definition of front organizations:

Testimony on front organizations showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate reform objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry on its activities, pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution.

In other words, the objective which the Attorney General set forth in the first quotation is to be carried out in part by the instrumentality of front organizations, which do some of the cover-up work for the Communist Party, drawing into the circle of influence of the Communist Party larger and larger numbers for the express purpose of carrying out this revolutionary seizure of the Government.

The third quotation which I offer in evidence is from a series of memoranda which the Attorney General distributed to the departmental heads of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, also in May of 1942, the date being, specifically, May 7 of that year. This series of memoranda was a part of the result of the Attorney General's investigation authorized by the Congress of the United States in 1941, in which the Attorney General was granted the sum

of \$100,000 by Congress and authorized to investigate the subversive affiliations of the employees of the Federal Government and to report its findings back to the Congress of the United States.

On page 16 of the series of memoranda the Attorney General states:

The National Federation represents the principle of interlocking leadership common to Communist fronts and penetrated organizations.

Now, taking those three quotations together, we have in summary this argument:

First, that the Communist Party is distinctly a subversive organization, aiming at the overthrow by force and violence of the United States Government.

Second, that it uses front organizations as an important part of its tactics in achieving that objective.

Third, that the principle of the interlocking directorate is a principle vital to the recognition or identity of Communist front organizations.

Mr. COSTELLO. Once again there, on the continuity of the Communist Party, I believe they had a meeting only last Thursday, was it not, at Madison Square Garden, in which they celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary, which would tend to indicate that the present activity of the Communists is the same activity that has been going on for the past 25 years?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. And the present president of the Communist Political Association, which technically succeeded the Communist Party of the United States, is Earl Browder, and otherwise the personnel is identical. Furthermore the Communist Political Association stated publicly that it had automatically transferred the members of the Communist Party of the United States to the Communist Political Association.

Mr. COSTELLO. With merely a change of name?

Mr. MATTHEWS. With or without their consent they were automatically transferred. Furthermore, in line with your question, Earl Browder testified before the Campaign Expenditures Committee that members of the Communist Political Association who are in the armed services had been released from their obligations as Communists to the Communist Political Association, which is an indication that ordinary members are still under the discipline of the Communist Political Association, just as they were under the discipline of the Communist Party before the change of name.

In the series of memoranda which I have referred to, which the Attorney General distributed to the heads of the departments of the executive branch of the Government in May of 1942, some 25 organizations were found to be Communist fronts, or Communist-controlled organizations—and I repeat that these findings were a part of the results of the expenditure of \$100,00 appropriated by the Congress. These 25 organizations named by the Attorney General as Communists or Communist-front organizations were as follows: American Council on Soviet Relations; American League for Peace and Democracy; American League Against War and Fascism; American Peace Mobilization; American Youth Congress; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; Communist Party; Communist Party, Statements Defending; Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America; Congress of American Revolutionary Writers; Daily Worker; Emergency

Peace Mobilization; Freiheit; International Labor Defense; International Publishers; International Workers Order; Labor Defender; League of American Writers; Michigan Civil Rights Federation; National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners; National Committee for Peoples Rights; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; National Negro Congress; New Masses; United States Congress Against War; Washington Bookshop; Washington Committee for Democratic Action; Workers Alliance of America.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Matthews, may I ask right there whether all of these organizations that you have listed on this chart are included in that list that the Attorney General said were Communist-front organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; they are. And at this point I should like to introduce as an exhibit a complete text of the Attorney General's series of memoranda covering these 25 organizations.

Mr. COSTELLO. Without objection, that will be done.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And I ask that the complete text of those memoranda be incorporated in the record of this hearing.

Mr. COSTELLO. It will be incorporated as exhibit 1.

(The memoranda, marked "Exhibit 1," as follows:)

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM, THE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

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AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

The American League Against War and Fascism is the first of three organizations established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union. Its successor, the American League for Peace and Democracy, was established in 1937 and it, in turn, gave way in 1940 to the American Peace Mobilization which, since the German invasion of Russia and the establishment of a pro-war policy by Communists in the United States, has been known as American Peoples' Mobilization.

A World Congress, devoted to the foundation in each country of a League Against War and Fascism, was held in Amsterdam in 1932 under the aegis of the Communist International. It was at this time that Communists throughout the world were teaching that capitalist forces were about to make war upon the Soviet Union. The danger that Hitler might soon come into power in Germany accentuated this belief. The American delegation to the Congress was headed by H. W. L. Dana, an avowed Communist, who called his group "a workers' delegation". In accordance with the resolutions of the Congress, organizations having as their stated aim opposition to war and fascism were founded in the countries in which the Communist International maintained sections.

The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the first United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. The manifesto of this congress called attention to the "black cloud of imperialist war" hanging over the world and pointed to the National Recovery Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the other policies of the Roosevelt administration as indications of America's pre-

paredness for war and fascism. Only in the Soviet Union, the Manifesto continued, has the basic cause of war—monopolistic capitalism—been removed; the Soviet Union alone among the governments of the world proposes total disarmament; only by arousing and organizing the masses within each country for active struggle against the war policies of their own imperialist governments can war be effectively combated. The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union and for effective international support to all workers and antiwar fighters against their own imperialist governments. Subsequent congresses, in 1934 and 1936, reflected the same program.

The close affiliation of the American League Against War and Fascism with the Communist movement in the United States is manifest both in its program and in the statements about it by Communist leaders. Earl Browder, general secretary and leader of the Communist Party, United States of America, called the league a "transmission belt" of the Communist Party. He defined a "transmission belt" as a "tactic by which the Communists attempt to reach the masses of the people." Further, he described it as an outstanding part of the "united front" effort of the Communist Party. The "united front," according to Browder, is a question of fundamental strategy, a basic policy of struggle for class unity of workers against the bourgeoisie. Its program, he declared, "is so clear and definite in facing the basic issues that to carry it out in fact entails clearly revolutionary consequences"; it has never tried to avoid the issue of Communist Party participation in this broad united front. Browder has stated that when the party was forced to go underground on the west coast in 1934, it stood up well, for "already on August 1 in San Francisco the party broke through the terror, holding an open public meeting under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism."

The first head of the league, J. B. Matthews, who later renounced communism, has often written and testified concerning the Communist participation in its establishment and program. Dr. Harry F. Ward, who succeeded Matthews as its chairman, declared its purpose to be "to promote a wider understanding of the peace policies of the Soviet Union and to cooperate with other agencies to prevent an attack on the Soviet Union." Ward also stated that there was no way to organize peace constructively "except by adopting throughout the world the basic organization on which the Soviet Union is founded." It was through Dr. Ward and the Methodist Federation for Social Action, of which he has long been a leader, that Earl Browder declared the league served the party as a contact "with those church organizations which are for the destruction of capitalist society."

At its ninth annual convention in 1936 the Communist Party, United States of America, resolved that it would work untiringly to help widen the basis of the league, especially among the trade-unions and farm organizations. In this connection, Party Organizer, September 1935, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America, stated that "our party did its utmost at the beginning to build the American League which must become the main instrument * * * for the defense of the Soviet Union * * * we must show them (the masses) that we are the real driving force of the movement and in this way by our example create new enthusiasm, new impetus for the masses to march forward."

Communist affiliation with the American League was reflected in the membership and the leadership which installed Earl Browder as vice president and many Communist leaders on the executive board. Resolutions and manifestos of the league were printed in official Communist publications and the Federal Bureau of Investigation reports from confidential sources that the league is among those organizations which received financial assistance from the Amtorg Trading Corporation.

Communist control of the "peace movement" outside of Russia was revealed in a report to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1935 in which it was stated that "we must penetrate among the pacifist masses and carry out the work of enlightenment among them, using forms of organization and action which are adapted to the level of consciousness of these masses and which give them the possibility of taking the first step in the effective struggle against war and capitalism. We must take two things into account. The first is that the organization of the pacifist masses cannot

and must not be a Communist organization; the second is that in working in this organization Communists must never give up explaining with the greatest patience and insistence their own point of view on all the problems of the struggle against war."

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

In accordance with the final statement of this report to the Seventh World Congress—that the organization of the pacifist masses cannot and must not be a Communist organization—and in accordance with the so-called Trojan horse policy, adopted at the same world congress, by which Communists seek to penetrate many organizations without revealing their identity, the American League Against War and Fascism at its fourth congress in 1937 became the American League for Peace and Democracy. It has been reported that the reason for the change in name may be found in the fact that the original organization had become widely identified in the popular mind as a Communist-controlled group.

The program of the new league reflected the change in tactics. Reference to the Soviet Union were omitted. The first items in the program referred to the rights of labor and called for the defeat of legislation attempting to compel incorporation of trade-unions or the inspection of union finances. Guaranties to Negro people and the foreign born and the demand for an antilynching law followed. The program called for the promotion of the people's boycott of Japanese goods and for the removal of restrictions on shipments to China and Spain. The same program was reflected at the fifth congress of the league, held in January 1939, with the addition of a demand for the abolition of the poll tax, the strengthening of the Wagner Act, and opposition to antisemitic propaganda. In all of these policies the league was following the Communist Party line.

The American League was composed of national and local organizations. The highest governing body was nominally the national congress operating through the national committee, representation in which was based on the membership in affiliated organizations. The national committee, in turn, was controlled by the executive board on which were several Communists. Funds were collected from members and affiliates and J. B. Matthews, former head of the American League Against War and Fascism, wrote that when the league could not secure sufficient funds in this way it would first call on someone like Corliss Lamont, the Communist "angel," and in the most extreme cases would call upon Earl Browder.

Communists boasted of their control of the American League Against War and Fascism. The Communist Party, the Young Communist League, most Communist "front" organizations, and Communist leaders were openly affiliated with it. The American League for Peace and Democracy, on the other hand, was designed to conceal Communistic control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International. The adoption of a new name and the broadening of the program to include measures and policies calculated to enlist a wider support in no way lessened the Communist control and direction of the league.

AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION

(Now called American People's Mobilization)

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American Peace Mobilization was formed in the summer of 1940, under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League as a "front" organization designed to mold American opinion against participation in the war against Germany. Its existence terminated within a month after the German invasion of Russia, when it became American People's Mobilization and adopted a program favoring complete assistance to Britain, Russia, and China. American

Peace Mobilization attracted to its fold two types of members: The Communists and fellow travelers ever ready to promote party interest or follow the party line and those Americans devoted to the maintenance of peace who were for the most part unaware, at least before the German invasion of Russia, of the Communist control of American Peace Mobilization.

American Peace Mobilization had two predecessor organizations. The first, the American League Against the War and Fascism, had its origin in 1932, when the Communist International, fearing a European war against the Soviet Union, directed its sections throughout the world to stimulate peace movements in their respective countries. Earl Browder, general secretary and chief officer, testified before the Dies committee that the Communist Party participated actively in forming the league. When Russia began making a military alliance with France in 1935, these movements gradually were allowed to lapse throughout the world, and in the United States the American League Against the War and Fascism was succeeded by the American League for Peace and Democracy. Browder has characterized this second organization as a "transmission belt" of the Communist Party. He defined a "transmission belt" as a technical term referring to the tactics whereby the Communists established their relations with the masses of people. Both the League Against War and Fascism and the League for Peace and Democracy followed the customary Communist tactic of placing prominent non-Communists in titular positions, while Communists themselves took the controlling positions. In addition to the Communists who supported them as a matter of party policy, both organizations attracted to their membership many unsuspecting persons.

The American Peace Mobilization was by its own definition open to everyone. It was formally founded at a meeting in Chicago at the end of August 1940, known as the Emergency Peace Mobilization. Although the Communist Party as such did not openly participate in the propagandizing for and organizing of this meeting, its workers schools in collaboration with the American Youth Congress and other Communist front organizations took a prominent part throughout this meeting. In addition American Peace Mobilization sponsored the march on Washington, January 25-27, 1941, when the delegates attempted to picket the Capitol and to see congressional and administration leaders. Later, on April 4 and 5, 1941, it sponsored the so-called American People's Meeting in New York City. These meetings were dominated by leaders of Communist-front organizations and the programs and pamphlets issued in connection with these meetings contained advertisements and greetings of Communist-penetrated organizations.

During its existence of less than a year, American Peace Mobilization was concerned with keeping America out of the "imperialist war." It directed its attention chiefly to the Burke-Wadsworth bill for conscription and the lend-lease bill. Its aims were not limited to this legislation, but included a number calculated to enlist wider support. It called for the end of discrimination against Negroes, aliens, and Jews. It demanded a restitution of constitutional rights, the passage of antipoll tax and social legislation, and it condemned legal proceedings then pending against Harry Bridges and Earl Browder. It attacked the Dies committee and its investigation of such "genuinely democratic groups" as International Labor Defense and the Transport Workers Union. It sponsored meetings in collaboration with such Communist-penetrated organizations as the American Youth Congress, Workers Alliance, and the National Negro Congress, and it collaborated closely and sponsored meetings jointly with such an important Communist organization as the International Workers Order. It continually attacked the Churchill government and the "Tory imperialism" of Britain. Each of the foregoing positions conformed exactly to Communist Party line. American Peace Mobilization numbered among its officers and sponsors several leading Communists and the heads of several Communist-penetrated groups.

The most conspicuous activity of American Peace Mobilization was the picketing of the White House which began in April 1941, in protest against lend-lease and the entire national defense program of the administration. On June 17, 1941, Frederick V. Field, national secretary, who had called for the picketing of the White House, stated the aims of the organization once more. He said that there was widely propagandized in America a myth of two alternatives: That of a Nazi-dominated world or a victory of British-United States imperialism. The American Peace Mobilization program afforded a third possibility: keep America out of Europe's war, improve the standard of living, retain and defend our constitutional liberties, and work for a people's peace. It was Field who had called the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 a "spearhead of the attacks on our

democracy" and the national defense program a part of the "march toward fascism," and who a week after the German invasion of Russia stated that in view of the "new world situation" America should give full aid to Britain, Russia, and China.

Just 4 days after Field had redefined the aims of American Peace Mobilization, on the afternoon of June 21, 1941, he suddenly called off the picket line around the White House. Eight hours thereafter German armies had crossed the Russian frontier. Within 1 week American Peace Mobilization stated that the international situation had changed and that the national board of the organization had adopted a new program which called for aid to the Soviet Union against the forces of the Nazi military machine. Three weeks later American Peace Mobilization explained that to meet the needs created by the "new world situation"—a phrase which featured all official Communist literature of that time and since—American Peace Mobilization was changing its name to American People's Mobilization and henceforth was adopting the "V" slogan for "Victory over fascism." At the same time Field announced that arrangements were being made for an American tour by the Dean of Canterbury, one of the leading English sympathizers with the Soviet Union and author of *The Soviet Power*, which was widely distributed by the Communist Party.

Ever since 1918, and before, there have been in existence in the United States organizations devoted to peace and to the goal of keeping America out of war. Not one of these organizations, however, was formally represented as an organization in any way in American Peace Mobilization. These organizations devoted to antiwar activities have been continuously ignored in the columns of the *Daily Worker* and other Communist publications, whereas these same periodicals gave full support to American Peace Mobilization.

Membership in American Peace Mobilization cost only 50 cents, and for the unemployed, 10 cents. Through a Nation-wide newspaper campaign calling on Americans to contribute a dime and become "Volunteers for Peace" it has been estimated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation that American Peace Mobilization numbered as members or contributors about 14,000,000 persons, the bulk of whom were undoubtedly unaware of the Communist control of American Peace Mobilization.

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

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The American Youth Congress is defined by its 1940 constitution as a "nonprofit, educational association to serve as a cooperating center and a clearing house for all youth organizations; youth-serving agencies; local, State, and regional youth councils and assemblies; and organizations desiring to promote the welfare of youth." It originated in 1934 and since its inception has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth. The process has been described by a high official of the Communist International, referring specifically to the congress, as "the radicalization of the youth." Under such leadership and in the guise of a youth program, the force of opinion of the youth of America, expressed in the proceedings and resolutions of the American Youth Congress, purporting to be representative of the American youth organizations which compose it, has been rallied to the support of every position taken by the Communist Party upon issues relating to the foreign and domestic affairs of the United States.

The concept of a nonpolitical congress of American youth organizations originated with one Viola Ilma and was inspired by a similar gathering which she had attended in Europe in 1933. The first American Youth Congress, held at New York in August 1934, was attended by delegates from a broad range of representative national organizations. Prior to the Congress and at its opening session, however, the Young Communist League, in collaboration with certain

Socialist and pacifist groups, set in motion a series of maneuvers which resulted in the ouster of Miss Ilma and the establishment of Communist control, which never has been relinquished.

Corroboration of the conquest of the American Youth Congress by the Young Communist League is to be found in the admissions of innumerable Communist speeches and writings. In an address before the Seventh World Congress at Moscow in 1935, Otto Kuusinen, who is a member of the executive committee, its presidium, and secretariat of the Communist International, and one of the most powerful figures in the Communist world, said:

"Comrades, the Young Communist League of the United States, headed by Comrade Green, went to the American Youth Congress and achieved a great success. The congress was transformed into a great united front of radical youth, and when somewhat later a second general youth congress was held, our young comrades already enjoyed a position of authority in it. The Communists alone have been able to foster the radicalization of the youth in bourgeoisie organization."

The first American Youth Congress claimed to speak for 79 organizations having a total membership of 1,700,000. Although essentially dedicated to a program for youth, the Congress promptly declared, "We do not believe that the fundamental problems before us are special 'youth problems,' amenable to solution by special 'youth demands' alone. We declare that they are the general problems of the masses of the people * * *" and called for a "youth movement * * * to work for the building of a new social order, based upon production for use rather than for profits." It thereupon adopted a series of "favoring" resolutions substantially setting forth the Communist Party program of that day.

The congress likewise adopted a "resolution against war and fascism." Its preamble observes, in part:

"Today, on the twentieth anniversary of the last war, American youth again faces the danger of a new war * * * Hitler and Japan are trying to forge a united front for war against the Soviet Union. * * * The events since the last war prove the futility of depending on statesmen and upon disarmament gatherings to end war. The only constructive proposal toward peace at these conferences have been offered by the Soviet Union. * * * The recent trend toward fascism has been looked on with terror by all right-thinking sections of the people. * * * The last year has witnessed a growing trend toward fascism and preparation for war in the United States. * * * Many strikes have been met with the use of militia. Poison gas and rifles are frequently used as weapons to smash labor's rights: lynchings have increased, as well as antisemitism. Vigilantes' raids on strikes in San Francisco and the brutality of New York police with labor pickets indicates that the weapon of fascist tendencies exists from coast to coast."

The congress, therefore, pledged itself to work for the abolition of all forms of military training in high schools and colleges, the diversion of military funds for increased educational and relief expenditures and facilities, the abolition of the Citizens Military Training Corps, opposition to the use of the National Guard against labor organizations and activities, the freedom of all imprisoned in fascist countries for their opposition to fascism and the defense of the democratic rights gained by the masses of the people, opposition to all forms of exploitation and hatred directed against national and racial minorities, especially Negroes, Mexicans, Japanese, Jews, and so forth, and the immediate withdrawal of all American armed forces from colonial countries such as China and the Philippines, and for the support of the peace proposals of the Soviet Union for complete disarmament. The record of each succeeding congress reflects a similar conformity to Communist Party line.

The above resolutions are to be found in a pamphlet entitled "Program of American Youth Congress," published by its Continuations Committee and printed by Prompt Press, which prints the bulk of the literature issued by the Communist Party and its affiliates and is reliably known to be owned by the Communist Party.

As indicated by its 1934 resolution, the league opposed war and fascism. In common with all Communist organizations it subsequently opposed the "imperialist war" and attacked the lease-lend bill, the Burke-Wadsworth bill, which subsequently became the Selective Service and Training Act, and all legislation directed toward military preparation for defense. It participated in peace demonstrations and sponsored town meetings throughout the United States to oppose America's entry into the war. The chief of these town meetings was held

at Washington, D. C., in February 1941. Subsequent to the Nazi invasion of Russia in June 1941, however, the congress reversed its position and at its congress held at Philadelphia only 2 weeks thereafter passed a resolution pledging full support to the British and Russians in their fight against the Nazis. A second resolution adopted at that convention voiced opposition to any appeasement toward Japanese aggression against China, proposed an embargo on war materials for Japan, and at the same time asked that all restrictions be lifted on the purchase of war materials by the Chinese.

The organization grew in strength, probably reaching the peak of its influence in 1939 when it claimed to speak for over 500 national and local organizations. Due to its communistic leadership and policies, however, a number of organizations thereafter withdrew and at its 1940 convention only 177 organizations and 67 local and neighborhood councils were represented, many of which were merely paper organizations which, if not completely nonexistent, consisted of a local Young Communist League member endeavoring to secure some sort of local sponsorship. Unquestionably, there were legitimate, non-Communist delegates at the conference but there were equally as many representing little more than themselves. The report of the credentials committee of the 1940 Congress claimed, notwithstanding, to represent 5,159,495 young people in America.

The report of the credentials committee of the 1941 Congress, held at Philadelphia, as reflected by the Washington Post of July 7, 1941, claimed a representation of 1,110 youth councils, student, religious, labor, farm, social and fraternal organizations having 5,463,760 members. Such statistics, however, are valueless because of the duplication of representation and the exaggerated tabulating methods used whereby the membership of each attending local branch of an organization is added to the total membership of the national organization which includes it; a representative chosen by a packed minority at an underattended local meeting is presumed to speak for an unverified total membership.

The extent of Communist control is indicated by the following facts relative to the 1940 congress held at Lake Geneva, Wis. Representatives included 15 known Communist-controlled or led organizations, 7 similarly controlled or led labor unions whose policies have followed every turn of the Communist Party line, and a number of "fellow traveler" organizations. Its credentials committee had a minimum Communist majority of 6 to 4; its constitution committee a majority of 7 to 3; its nominations committee a minimum of 8 to 7; its rule committee a majority of 4 to 1; and its resolutions committee a probable majority of 10 to 8. The congress cabinet was controlled by the Young Communist League by 18 to 15. The poor representation of the non-Communist majority operated to strengthen Communist control but at the same time rendered the congress less effective as a Communist vehicle because of its greater exposure as a Communist Party front organization. For this reason, Communists are struggling to retain nonparty support and to continue a sufficient number of non-Communists in office to preserve a nonpolitical appearance without sacrificing control.

Throughout its existence the officers of American Youth Congress unquestionably have included persons who were non-Communists. The majority of the officers, however, have always been identifiable with Communist Party or known party affiliates. The Congress publishes a magazine entitled "Winner", the editor of which is Barry Wood, Communist Party name for Jeff Kimbre, well-known party leader of southern California. Officers of the Congress individually have taken part in Communist Party functions regularly. This close association between the congress and the party and its affiliates has been notorious from the outset.

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

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The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935, for some years attracted to its fold many of the most prominent American

writers, Communist and non-Communist. In 1939 the league began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and at that time most of the non-Communists disaffiliated themselves from it and declared their opposition to its policy.

The League of American Writers was founded at a Congress of American Revolutionary Writers held in New York city April 26-27, 1935. The call for the congress was signed by members of the John Reed Club, including such well-known Communists as Earl Browder, Isidor Schneider, John L. Spivak, and Michael Gold. The congress greeted Gold as "the best loved American revolutionary writer" and Gold in turn told the gathering that "our writers must learn that the working class which has created a great civilization in the Soviet Union is capable of creating a similar civilization in this country." The leading speakers at the Congress were all prominently identified with the Communist movement in the United States and featured such men as M. J. Olgin, editor of the Communist Yiddish daily, *Morning Freiheit*, Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the party's publishing house, International Publishers, Inc., and Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker* whose masthead then proclaimed it the "official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., section of the Communist International." The League was created, among other things, to enlist writers in a national cultural organization for peace and democracy and against fascism and reaction, to support progressive trade union organizations and the people's front in all countries, and to cooperate with the progressive forces.

Soon after the league was established, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow decided upon the Trojan horse policy for Communist parties everywhere. By this policy Communists sought to infiltrate existing organizations without revealing their identity. Accordingly it became necessary to conceal the Communist influence in the League of American Writers. The revolutionary slogans and resolutions were discarded. In the years from 1936 to 1939 the league made an effort to secure as members the leaders of liberal thought among American writers. Although its Communist control was deliberately obscured, it sponsored a policy which accorded with the Communist Party line in those years, including condemnation of the Franco Revolution in Spain and an interpretation of that revolution as presenting an issue of communism versus fascism. In its Congresses held in these years the League condemned fascism and praised the "Soviet peace policy." It sought to make its program attractive by sponsoring the Federal arts project and attacking those who were opposed to any of the social legislation then being enacted in the United States.

At the time of the Russo-German pact in August 1939 the League of American Writers began once more to follow the Communist Party line openly and without much attempt at dissimulation. It was in this period that most of the prominent non-Communist writers resigned from the League. Thomas Mann stated that the League "thinks too much about politics and not enough about literature." In 1940 and up until June 22, 1941, the League devoted its efforts principally to keeping the United States out of the "Imperialist war." Its activities were featured in the *Daily Worker* and it in turn complimented the *Daily Worker* for the recognition it was giving to the league's antiwar program. Many leading Communists were openly active in the league at this time.

On June 6, 1941, the league held its fourth annual Writers' Congress in New York City. It condemned the "imperialist war" which it called a war for world markets. Speakers charged that the President was attempting to lead the country into war and condemned the administration for its action in sending troops to quell the North American Aviation Co. strike and for its prosecution of Harry Bridges. The American Peace Mobilization and its picketing of the White House was endorsed. Less than a month later the league issued a call to all writers and writers' organizations for "all immediate and necessary steps in support of Great Britain and the Soviet Union."

Not only did the league follow the Communist Party line in regard to foreign affairs but its program since 1940 has shown a close parallel to the leading domestic issues supported by the party, including a campaign in behalf of Negro rights, opposition to what is called political persecution in the United States, and praise of the Soviet Union and its leaders.

The League of American Writers maintains an annual writers school in New York City, featuring courses in labor journalism and pamphlet writing taught by Communists. Once each week it sponsors a "work in progress" reading by some author. The *Daily Worker*, in its regular reports of these readings, indicates

that the majority of invited readers are known Communists or fellow travelers.

The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last 2 years leave little doubt of its Communist control. The resignations of many writers who had affiliated themselves with it in the era of the Trojan horse and their statements at the time of disassociating themselves from it largely remove all possible speculation as to the facts.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

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The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners is an organization created ostensibly to support and defend civil liberties. In January 1938 its name was changed to the National Committee for People's Rights although so far as known, no substantial change was made in its set-up or functions. At the present time it is referred to interchangeably under both names.

Information regarding this organization is limited. It is not known when the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners was formed but there is a record of its meeting as early as July 1921. At that time it appeared to follow an anarchistic trend and not to be connected with the Communist Party. In fact, a meeting held at New Orleans in 1925 was reported to have been broken up by Communists when a speaker attempted to address it regarding political prisoners of Russia. Communist penetration appears to have begun about 1926 when Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, its then secretary, who was active in the International Workers of the World and the Peoples' Council, a radical organization, joined the Communist Party. She is presently a member of the party's national committee and one of its outstanding leaders.

Information secured from confidential informants, in a position to speak reliably, indicates that the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners is substantially equivalent to International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party. Unlike International Labor Defense, however, which operates principally among the middle and lower classes, the subject organization caters to financially and socially prominent liberals to attract the influence of their patronage and their contributions in support of civil liberties cases selected for defense. Its membership, which in 1937 was stated under oath by a southern official to number approximately 150 persons, has never been sought to be increased substantially. It maintains a national office in New York City and from time to time has had branch offices at Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and in northern and southern California. The organization works through local branch offices opened in the locality of an alleged political persecution selected for representation. Such local offices conduct publicity campaigns through press releases and solicit funds to defray the cost of defending the alleged victims and of supporting their dependents during and after trial.

Information of the confidential character referred to above is to the effect that for a number of years past the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners or National Committee for People's Rights has been infiltrated and controlled by the Communist Party. In one instance an informant reported that it received financial support from Amtorg Trading Co., the principal Soviet commercial agency in the United States, while another informant stated that funds of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners had been diverted to Communist Party uses. These allegations are supported by substantial evidence.

For years persons prominently identified with communism in this country have been associated with it, including members of the National Committee of the Communist Party, Communist State officers, a present coowner of the Daily Worker, and numerous fellow-travelers who were also closely associated with

various Communist-front organizations, contributors to Communist publications, and otherwise outstanding in Communist activities. A former national chairman of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, a member of the Communist Party, United States of America, is confidentially reported to have toured the country with a German political prisoner lecturing on conditions in Germany and raising considerable funds, a portion of which were diverted to Communist Party uses. The organization has also collaborated with many other known Communist-front groups in their activities. According to another confidential source, plans for agitation and organization of the unemployed in the State of New York, leading eventually to the national hunger march of 1931, were partially formulated at its national office. It is significant that the cases selected for defense, so far as known, have without exception been those of Communists or cases publicized by the Communist Party.

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners figured prominently in demonstrations on behalf of the Scottsboro boys; vigorously protested the prosecution of Angelo Herndon, presently a high Communist official condemned the persecution of William Schneiderman, California State secretary of the Communist Party, and Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America; came to the fore in defense of individuals prosecuted for soliciting recruits for armies of Loyalist Spain; defended those prosecuted for procuring forged signatures to a Communist election petition in Pennsylvania; organized the Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, and solicited funds and sought to obtain as much Nation-wide publicity as possible on behalf of Robert Wood, Oklahoma State secretary of the Communist Party, and his Communist codefendants in the recent syndicalism trials in that State.

It also has followed the Communist Party line in numerous instances, condemning the Dies committee and the methods of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the use of troops in connection with the North American Aviation Co. strike in California in June 1941, and protesting the administration's foreign policy prior to the Nazi attack on Russia. Subsequent to the invasion it sponsored a "people's meeting."

The organization has also engaged in activities which are not strictly "civil liberties" in character. In April 1938, for example, it cooperated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union, International Labor Defense, American League for Peace and Democracy, and Workers' Defense League in staging a New Jersey Congress of Industrial Organizations organizing rally. In addition, it conducted an investigation of mining conditions in the States of Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma with particular regard to the development of silicotic and tubercular conditions. In connection with this project a former Kansas Communist State official testified before the Dies committee that the extensive correspondence between himself and various governmental agencies on silicosis in those States, introduced into evidence, had been prepared by the Communist Party headquarters in New York City and dispatched by him on behalf of the National Committee for People's Rights. Testimony before the Dies committee has characterized the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners or National Committee for People's Rights as a "transmission belt" or front for the Communist Party.

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

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The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., and affiliates throughout the United States, is part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program among those who would never affiliate themselves

openly with the party. Membership in the national federation, or its affiliates, likewise consists of those sympathetic to the stated aims of the organization, who may or may not be aware of its Communist control, as well as party members and fellow travelers.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. Sixty-one organizations are said to have participated in this conference. In a pamphlet issued by the national federation, it is stated that it was organized to coordinate several existing organizations concerned "with the preservation and further realization of democratic rights" as guaranteed by the Constitution. It has affiliates or chapters in various parts of the country, such as the Oklahoma Federation for Constitutional Rights, the Michigan Civil Rights Federation, and the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. Its method of operation, like that of International Labor Defense, the legal-aid arm of the Communist Party with which it is closely affiliated, is the creation of special committees for specific cases.

In one of its publications the federation states that it was founded because our constitutional guaranties are in danger; "as individuals we are powerless, but all together we are strong." The program of the federation seeks wider support by calling for the maintenance of the Bill of Rights, the preservation of the Wagner Act and of the guaranties to labor, the end of persecution of labor unions and aliens and the repeal of poll-tax legislation. It demands the end of the "gestapo activities" of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the abolition of the Dies committee.

The program of the federation parallels closely the Communist Party line of 1940. This adherence to the party line is illustrated by the opposition, contained in much of the federation's pamphlet literature, to compulsory military training, which "would introduce dangerous major steps in the direction of Fascist control over the entire life of the community and especially over the labor movement." It was at this time that Communists were opposing conscription and the entire national defense program. One of the tactics which they used to attack the program was the emphasis on the threat to civil liberties and the rights of labor and of minority groups. Thus the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties served a useful function to Communists as it declared that "Ours is the task of true national defense."

The national federation represents the principle of interlocking leadership common to Communist "front" and penetrated organizations. Owen A. Knox, the national chairman (resigned September 30, 1941), for example, is treasurer of the Michigan Civil Rights Federation and a member of the national committee of International Labor Defense and of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. Most of the national sponsors and most of the national executive committee and many of the local heads of the federation are leaders of Communist organizations or are prominently identified with Communist activities.

The activities of the national federation have been manifest chiefly in the various committees specially created for the defense of certain individuals. The defenses of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation. Through pamphlet literature and by appearances of members before legislative committees, the federation has also been active in behalf of or in opposition to legislation. It has led the recent fight against the continuance of the Dies committee, taken up by all Communist "front" organizations throughout the country. In both these aspects it has operated in close affiliation with the International Labor Defense. The latter has now become clearly identified as a Communist organization and has thus lost much of its usefulness in attracting adherents. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties is one of the equivalent organizations set up to attract those who would not openly affiliate themselves with Communist groups if apprised of the facts.

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

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The National Negro Congress is a federated organization of affiliated national, State, local, and community bodies which, according to the preamble of its constitution, "seeks to unite the Negro people and all friends of Negro freedom for complete social justice and full citizenship for the Negro Americans." Its stated aims and purposes include the abolition of Negro discrimination and intolerances, promotion of trade-unionism, broader employment opportunities, education and housing for colored people, and the spread of "truth regarding their traditions and contributions to American democracy." Earl Browder testified before the Dies committee, however, that it functions as a "transmission belt" for the Communist Party, and it has been characterized by James W. Ford, Communist Party Negro leader, as "a broadening of the people's front in America."

The National Negro Congress was proposed in May 1935 by a "national sponsoring committee," ostensibly unidentified with any organization, which issued a call for a convention, or Congress, to be held at Chicago in February 1936. At this first congress, A. Phillip Randolph, the President of the organization, in a keynote address condemned the "hard, deceptive, and brutal capitalist order," and proclaimed that "the maneuvering and disposing of the forces of Negro peoples and their sympathetic allies against their enemies can only be effectively worked out through the tactics and strategy of the united front." He denied that the National Negro Congress was dominated by Communists or that he and John P. Davis, whom he described as "the moving spirit of the congress and secretary," were Communists although he was "willing to go down fighting for the rights of any Negro to exercise his constitutional right as a free man to join the Communist Party or any other party he may choose to join." Davis in fact was a prominent Communist Party "front" organization leader. Subsequently, however, at the Third National Negro Congress in April, 1940, Randolph refused to be a candidate for the presidency of the organization on the ground that it was "deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists."

Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and "fellow travelers" have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the Congress. One of the principal speeches before the first congress in 1936 was delivered by James W. Ford, the perennial Communist Negro vice presidential candidate, who previously, in 1935, had told the plenum of the central committee of the Communist Party that the National Negro Congress "promises to be one of the broadest movements ever organized among the Negroes in this country," which the Communist Party endorses. Active at this congress also were Benjamin Davis, Jr. and Louise Thompson, both members of the central committee of the Communist Party, and Edward E. Strong, the chairman of the presiding committee of the youth section of the congress, a leader of the Young Communist League. The Second National Negro Congress, held in October 1937, was likewise addressed by leading Communists or fellow travelers, including James W. Ford, Clarence Hathaway, former editor of the Daily Worker, Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Louise Thompson and her husband, William E. Patterson, also a prominent Communist leader and vice president of International Labor Defense.

The National Negro Congress, throughout its existence, has closely followed the Communist Party lines, espousing causes and adopting issues sponsored by the party, and with regard thereto, has sought to affiliate itself and form united fronts with other organizations. It has characterized all legislation deemed a threat to the civil liberties of Communists or any alien or minority group as repressive and Fascist and has endorsed the defense of the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon and Tom Mooney. It is also actively engaged in the current campaigns to free Earl Browder and for the discontinuance of the Dies committee. In the field of American foreign policy it called for united action on the part of the democracies (including the Soviet Union) against fascism prior to the Russo-German pact of nonaggression, but after the signing of the pact assailed the imperialist conflict as having nothing to do with saving and extending democracy. When the Nazis attacked Russia, however, the leaders of the congress advocated all-out aid to the Soviet Union and urged immediate entrance of the United States into the war on the side of Britain and the Allies.

In the fields of activity normally attractive to Negro organizations, the National Negro Congress has been an agitational force against lynching and all

forms of so-called Negro discrimination, lobbying for or against legislation on such questions through mass demonstrations, picket lines, telegrams, letters, and petitions. In the field of organized labor it has assisted the unions in their strikes and organizational work, and advocates union membership for all Negroes. Presently it is in the forefront of the struggle, along with numerous other penetrated or Communist-led Negro organizations, for increased employment of colored persons in war industries, greater opportunities for the Negro in the Army and Navy, and for additional civil rights.

Throughout its existence, the Congress has worked closely with other Communist-front organizations, all of which has been faithfully reported in the Communist press. Leaders of these groups are guests or speakers at functions of the Congress or send their greetings and pledges of support, which, in turn, are reciprocated by officers of the Negro Congress. It frequently joins such organizations in sponsoring meetings and demonstrations and is affiliated with some of them, such as the American Council on Soviet Relations. From time to time the National Negro Congress has received financial aid from International Workers Orders, one of the strongest Communist organizations, and according to A. Phillip Randolph, John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, has admitted that the Communist Party contributed \$100 a month to its support.

From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: "An important sector of the democratic front," sponsored and supported by the Communist Party.

WASHINGTON COOPERATIVE BOOKSHOP

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The Washington Cooperative Bookshop, under the name The Book Shop Association, was incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1938 for the stated purposes of providing a meeting place for persons interested in literary and cultural activities, providing for the cooperative purchase and resale of literature and works of art for the profit of its members as consumers, maintaining a renting library and ticket service, and fostering other activities of a literary, educational and cultural nature. The association is a nonstock corporation, operated on the cooperative plan, with nine trustees elected by the membership, which, according to its announcements, have numbered 1,000. It maintains a book shop and art gallery at 916 Seventeenth Street NW., Washington, D. C., where literature is sold and meetings and lectures are held.

Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations, including works on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, reports concerning American Youth Congress, literature of American Peace Mobilization, articles on the Young Communist League, and Communist periodicals such as *New Masses*. In this connection the *Washington News* of May 22, 1941, reported that the Washington delegates to the "Peoples' Convention" of the American Peace Mobilization at New York City in that year were advised that only at the Washington Cooperative Book Shop could they buy literature approved by that organization. Information received from confidential sources indicates that certain of the officers and employees of the book shop, including its manager and executive secretary, have been in close contact with local officials of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia. One member of the association has reported that he received literature, unsolicited, from the Communist Party of the District of Columbia, a circumstance which he attributed only to his membership in the association. In May 1941 Joseph Starobin, one of the editors of *New Masses* and a teacher at the Communist Party Workers' School in New York City, lectured at the book shop, reportedly following the Communist

Party line of that day, stressing the invincibility of the Soviet Union and criticizing the Roosevelt administration. A quantity of literature of the type above described was displayed near the entrance of the book shop on that occasion.

In May 1941 the book shop desired to promote a membership drive and solicited the cooperation of the Cooperative League of the District of Columbia. The league, having received reports that the book shop was Communist controlled, requested it to provide certain information. The information was not furnished and the book shop resigned from the league, stating it was doing so as a result of unfavorable publicity attached to the incident. At about the same time the Washington press carried news items reporting seizure by representatives of the Dies committee of a membership list of the book shop allegedly initiated to indicate those members who were regarded as "Stalinists." A meeting of the members of the book shop denied Communist control, and thereafter adopted a resolution disclaiming Communist domination and affirming adherence to the foreign policy of the administration.

In view of the nature of the enterprise, investigations of charges of participation in the Washington Cooperative Book Shop have been restricted to exclude mere patrons or subscribers and to include only those fairly charged with participation in its administration.

WASHINGTON COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

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The Washington Committee for Democratic Action is the affiliate in the District of Columbia of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The national federation is part of what Lenin called "the solar system of organizations," ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party but by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program among those who would never affiliate themselves openly with the party. It was established at a conference of some 61 organizations held at Washington June 7-9, 1940, and it operates through affiliates or chapters in various parts of the country. In a pamphlet issued by the federation it is stated that it was organized to coordinate several existing organizations concerned "with the present and future realization of democratic rights" as guaranteed by the Constitution. Its method of operation, like that of the International Labor Defense, the legal aid arm of the Communist Party with which it is closely affiliated, is the creation of special committees for specific cases.

The program of the federation is made attractive by including the maintenance of the Bill of Rights and the preservation of the Wagner Act and of the guaranties to labor, the end of persecution of labor unions and aliens, and the repeal of poll-tax legislation. It further demands the end of the "gestapo activities" of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the abolition of the Dies committee.

This announced program of the federation shows a close parallel to the Communist Party line of 1940. The adherence to the party line is convincingly illustrated by the opposition of the federation to compulsory military training at the time that Communists were opposing conscription and the entire national defense program. One of the Communist tactics was to attack the program by emphasizing the threat to civil liberties and the rights of labor and of minority groups. In this way the national federation served a useful function to the Communists.

The national federation represents also the principle of interlocking leadership common to Communist front and penetrated organizations. Most of the national sponsors and leaders and many of the local heads of the federation are prominent in Communist organizations or closely identified with Communist activities.

As a local chapter of the national federation, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action is reportedly an outgrowth of part of the membership of the American League for Peace and Democracy which dissolved in the spring of 1940. The date of its formation thus probably coincides approximately with that

of its parent organization. Many of its members were also active in the league's successor, the American Peace Mobilization.

The program of the Washington committee followed that of the national federation. National Communist leaders have addressed its meetings and conferences sponsored by it have been attended by representatives of prominent Communist front organizations. It has actively supported the right of Communists to meet whenever they please without police intervention and has otherwise followed the line of the national federation and of the Communist Party.

Just as membership in the national federation, or its affiliates, includes those sympathetic to the stated aims of the organization, who may or may not be aware of its Communist control, as well as Communist Party members and fellow travelers, so also some members of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action may be unaware of its Communist control. Ample opportunity to observe this affiliation and control has been present, however, throughout the committee's existence and it is doubtful that many active members remain unsuspecting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now I should like to quote brief excerpts from the memoranda of the Attorney General to show that there was no doubt whatever in his mind, as the result of his findings, as to the distinctly subversive and Communist character of these organizations.

First, we have the American League Against War and Fascism. Concerning this organization the Attorney General said:

The close affiliation of the American League Against War and Fascism with the Communist movement in the United States is manifest both in its program and in its statements about it by Communist leaders.

Second, the American League for Peace and Democracy:

Communists boasted of their control of the American League Against War and Fascism. The Communist Party, the Young Communist League, most Communist front organizations and Communist leaders were openly affiliated with it. The American League for Peace and Democracy, on the other hand, was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International. The adoption of a new name and the broadening of the program to include measures and policies designated to enlist a wider support in no way lessened the Communist control and direction of the league.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Matthews, referring to those quotations you are giving from the Attorney General's memoranda, you seem to be placing a great deal of reliance on what the Attorney General has said and what he believed to be Communist-front organizations. Do you place the same amount of reliance on what this committee has found to be the case in regard to these organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, Mr. Congressman. I shall offer tomorrow, for inclusion in the record, a very full memorandum, much fuller than these of the Attorney General, showing that these organizations are just as communistic, if not more communistic, in their character and control than the Attorney General alleges, if that be possible.

Mr. THOMAS. The reason I bring that up is that I appreciate his taking the stand that he has in this matter, but I have grown to believe, or rather grown to the point where I do not put any reliance on anything that the present Attorney General has to say about communism. He just talks one day about it and then never does anything about it. To my way of thinking, the Attorney General is a bedfellow of the Communists. Now, whether they became bedfellows since 1942 or not, I don't know, but today they are bedfellows and nobody can deny it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, as a matter of fact, Mr. Congressman, to be perfectly frank, we all know that the memoranda from which I am quoting, while officially coming from the Attorney General, were prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. THOMAS. That sounds better to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That we know to be a fact, and they were circulated to the heads of the departments of the Government by the Attorney General after they had been prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. COSTELLO. That is in substantiation of what the committee has already done.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. COSTELLO. That is a statement from outside sources confirming our own findings by this committee?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Now, concerning the American Peace Mobilization, the Attorney General's memoranda state:

American Peace Mobilization was formed in the summer of 1940 under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League as a front organization designed to mold American opinion against participation in the war against Germany.

To quote again from the Attorney General's memoranda concerning the American Peace Mobilization, we have the following:

It was formally founded at a meeting in Chicago at the end of August 1940, known as the Emergency Peace Mobilization.

Quoting again from the same memoranda concerning the American Peace Mobilization, we have the following:

It sponsored meetings in collaboration with such Communist-penetrated organizations as the American Youth Congress, Workers Alliance, and the National Negro Congress, and it collaborated closely and sponsored meetings with such an important Communist organization as the International Workers Order.

Mr. THOMAS. I notice that he doesn't use the term "Communist Front Organization," but calls it Communist organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In some instances that is correct; in others it is described as Communist front.

On page 6 reference is made to the Daily Worker and other Communist publications.

Concerning the American Youth Congress the Attorney General's memoranda state the following:

It originated in 1934, and since its inception has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth.

I should like to point out that in practically every instance here there are no "ifs," "ands," or "buts" about the matter. The finding is very categorical, explicit, and positive.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the date of that memorandum?

Mr. MATTHEWS. May 7, 1942.

Mr. THOMAS. Didn't we have witnesses from the American Youth Congress before our committee prior to that, and didn't Mrs. Roosevelt sit in one time as a visitor?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I bring that in to show they are all bedfellows today.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 9 of these memoranda the Prompt Press is described in the following terms:

Prompt Press, which prints the literature issued by the Communist Party and its affiliates, and is reliably known to be owned by the Communist Party.

Concerning the League of American Writers the Attorney General said:

The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935.

And, to quote again:

The League of American Writers was founded at a Congress of American Revolutionary Writers, held in New York City April 26-27, 1925. The call for the Congress was signed by members of the John Reed Club, including such well-known Communists as Earl Browder, Isidor Schneider, John L. Spivak, and Michael Gold.

Quoting again concerning the same organization the Attorney General said:

The leading speakers at the Congress were all prominently identified with the Communist movement in the United States and featured such men as M. J. Olgin, editor of the Communist Yiddish Daily; Morning Freiheit; Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the Party's Publishing House, International Publishers, Inc.; and Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, whose masthead then proclaimed it the official organ of the Communist Party, United States of America, section of the Communist International.

Quoting again concerning the League of American Writers, the Attorney General said:

The overt activities of the League of American Writers leaves little doubt of its Communist control.

That would be from 1940 to 1942.

On page 13 of these memoranda the Attorney General takes up the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, and says:

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners is an organization created ostensibly to support and defend civil liberties. In January 1938, its name was changed to the National Committee for Peoples' Rights, although, so far as known, no substantial change was made in its set-up or functions.

On the same page the Attorney General described the International Labor Defense as "the legal arm of the Communist Party."

Again, to quote the Attorney General concerning the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, we have the following:

In one instance an informant reported that it received financial support from AMTORG Trading Co., the principal Soviet commercial agency in the United States, while another informant stated that funds of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners had been diverted to Communist Party uses. Those allegations are supported by substantial evidence.

On page 15 the Attorney General characterizes the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in the following terms:

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., and affiliates throughout the United States, is part of what Lenin called the "solar system of organizations" ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program among those who would never affiliate themselves openly with the party.

On the same page the Attorney General has the following to say concerning the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties:

It has affiliates or chapters in various parts of the country, such as the Oklahoma Federation for Constitutional Rights, the Michigan Civil Rights Federation, and the Washington Conference for Democratic Action. Its method of operation, like that of International Labor Defense, the legal aid arm of the Communist Party, with which it is closely affiliated, is the creation of special committees for specific cases.

On page 16 of these memoranda the Attorney General brings in another organization, namely, the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, and says the following:

The national federation represents the principle of interlocking leadership common to Communist fronts and penetrative organizations. Owen A. Knox, the

national chairman (resigned September 30, 1941), for example, is treasurer of the Michigan Civil Rights Federation and a member of the National Committee of International Labor Defense and of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.

Again, on page 16, the Attorney General says the following on International Labor Defense:

The latter has now become clearly identified as a Communist organization and has thus lost much of its usefulness in attracting adherents.

Which implies a practice of the Communist Party in abandoning one organization when it becomes too clearly identified in the public mind as Communist, and setting up in its place a new organization with a new name but having the same personnel and same objectives, generally.

On page 17 the Attorney General discusses the National Negro Congress and has the following to say:

Commencing with its formation in 1936, the Communist Party functionaries and fellow travelers have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the Congress.

And, to quote again:

The National Negro Congress throughout its existence has closely followed the Communist Party line, espousing causes and adopting issues espoused by the party, and with regard thereto has sought to affiliate itself and form united fronts without organizations.

One more quotation on the National Negro Congress:

Throughout its existence, the Congress has worked closely with other Communist front organizations, all of which has been faithfully reported in the Communist press. It frequently joins such organizations in sponsoring meetings and demonstrations and is affiliated with some of them, such as the American Council on Soviet Relations. From time to time the National Negro Congress has received financial aid from International Workers Orders, one of the strongest Communist organizations.

In that particular quotation we have the American Council on Soviet Relations and the International Workers Orders tied up with the National Negro Congress as Communist fronts.

On page 20 the Attorney General discusses the Washington Co-operative Bookshop and has the following to say:

Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected.

Then follows a lengthy summary of the evidence, showing that the Washington Bookshop was a Communist-controlled organization. The text of that will be in the record, so I shall not take the time to read it at the present time.

On page 23 the Attorney General discusses the Washington Committee for Democratic Action and has the following to say concerning it:

Ample opportunity to observe this affiliation and control has been present, however, throughout the committee's existence, and it is doubtful that many active members remain unsuspecting.

The affiliation and control referred to, as the preceding sentence shows, was the control of the Communists over the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

Now, when we turn to the National Citizens Political Action Committee and its personnel, we have a list of that committee which was submitted to the Campaign Expenditures Committee of the House

of Representatives on August 28 of the present year. I do not think that this has yet been offered in evidence, has it, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. COSTELLO. I think not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then I should like to offer as exhibit 2 the list of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, as submitted to the Campaign Expenditures Committee of the House of Representatives by Sidney Hillman himself on August 28, 1944, and ask that this list be included in full in the record.

Mr. COSTELLO. Without objection, it will be received.

(The list referred to, marked "Exhibit 2," follows:)

EXHIBIT 2

NATIONAL CITIZENS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

OFFICERS

Sidney Hillman, Chairman.
James G. Patton, Vice Chairman.
Freda Kirchway, Vice Chairman.

R. J. Thomas, Treasurer.
James H. McGill, Comptroller.
Clark Foreman, Secretary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Verda White Barnes
Elmer A. Benson
Van A. Bittner
Clark Foreman
Sidney Hillman
Freda Kirchway
James Loeb
Lucy Randolph Mason

James H. McGill
Phillip Murray
James G. Patton
Gifford Pinchot
R. J. Thomas
Dr. Robert C. Weaver
A. F. Whitney

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Adamic, Louis, author, Milford, N. J.
Alexander, Dr. Will W., vice president, Julius Rosenwald Fund, North Carolina.
Anderson, Mary, former director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.
Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, New York City.
Baldwin, C. B., assistant chairman, Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee, New York.
Balokovic, Zlatko, president, United Committee of South Slavic Americans, New York.
Barnes, Verda White, director, women's division, Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee, New York.
Bauer, Catherine, author, California.
Benet, William Rose, poet, New York.
Benson, Elmer A., ex-Governor, Minnesota.
Bethune, Mary McLeod (Mrs.), Daytona Beach, Fla.
Biggert, Robert (Mrs.), Winnetka, Ill.
Bittner, Van A., United Steelworkers of America, Washington, D. C.
Blaine, Emmons (Mrs.), Chicago, Ill.
Bliven, Bruce, editor, New Republic, New York.
Boas, Ernst P. (Dr.), New York City.
Bowie, W. Russell (Dr.), professor, Union Theological Seminary, New York.
Bremer, Otto, banker, St. Paul, Minn.
Bunzick, Zarko M., president, Serbian Vidovdas Congress, Akron, Ohio.
Burke, J. Frank, Pasadena, Calif.
Butkovich, John D., president, Croatian Fraternal Union, Pennsylvania.
Carey, James B., secretary-treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.
Clyde, Ethel (Mrs.), Huntington, Long Island.
Connelly, Marc, Los Angeles, Calif.
Cooke, Morris Llewellyn, consulting engineer, Philadelphia, Pa.
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, professor, Harvard University, Mass.

Corrothers, S. L. (Rev.), president, National Nonpartisan Colored Ministers' Association, United States of America, Westbury, Long Island.

Curran, Joseph, president, National Maritime Union of America, New York.

Dalrymple, Sherman H., president, United Rubber Workers of America, Ohio.

Davis, Michael M. (Dr.), editor, Medical Care, New York.

Dombrowski, James A. (Dr.), executive secretary, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Tennessee.

Dunjee, Roscoe, editor and publisher, the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma.

Du Pont, Ethel, writer, Kentucky.

Du Pont, Zara, Cambridge, Mass.

Durr, Clifford (Mrs.), vice chairman, National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, Virginia.

Eliot, Thomas H., attorney, Cambridge, Mass.

Embree, Edwin R., president, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Illinois.

Epstein, Henry, attorney, New York City.

Fitzgerald, Albert J., president, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, New York.

Foreman, Clark, president, Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Frazier, E. Franklin (Dr.), professor of sociology, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Galbraith, John Kenneth, editorial department, Fortune magazine.

Ginbel, Elinor, Committee for the Care of Young Children in Wartime, New York City.

Green, John, president, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, New Jersey.

Gutknecht, John (judge), municipal court, Chicago.

Harburg, E. Y., motion-picture director, Hollywood, Calif.

Hastie, William (judge), dean, Howard Law School, Washington, D. C.

Hays, Mortimer, attorney, New York City.

Haywood, Allan S., administrator, Federal Workers of America, Washington, D. C.

Hecht, Ben, writer, California.

Hewes, L. I., Jr., Palo Alto, Calif., National Council on Race Relations.

Hillman, Sidney, president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Hollander, Sidney, manufacturer, Maryland.

Hughes Langston, poet, New York.

Imbrie, James, banker, Trenton, N. J.

Kenyon, Dorothy (judge), New York City.

Kingdon, Frank (Dr.), author, New York.

Kirchwey, Freda, publisher, the Nation, New York.

Krzycki, Leo, president, American Slav Congress, New York.

Kulikowski, Adam, publisher, Opportunity, Virginia.

Lange, Oscar, professor, University of Chicago.

Lapp, John, independent labor conciliator, Chicago, Ill.

LeCron, James, assistant to Henry A. Wallace as Secretary of Agriculture, Berkeley, Calif.

Lee, Canada, actor, New York City.

Lerner, Max, author, editor, PM, New York.

Lewis, Alfred Baker, Greenwich, Conn. president, Trade Union Accident and Health Association.

Lewis, John Frederick, president, Art Alliance, Philadelphia, Pa.

Lewis, William Draper, Philadelphia, Pa.

Lochard, Metz T. (Dr.), editor, Chicago Defender, Chicago, Ill.

Loeb, James, secretary, Union for Democratic Action, New York.

Luyten, W. J. (Dr.), professor of astronomy, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

Mason, Lucy Randolph, Atlanta, Ga.

Maurer, Wesley (Dr.), school of journalism, University of Michigan.

McAllister, Thomas F. (Mrs.), former director, women's division, National Democratic Party, Grand Rapids, Mich.

McConnell, Francis J. (Bishop), New York City.

McCulloch, Frank, director, Mullenbach Institute, Chicago, Ill.

McDonald, David J., secretary-treasurer, United Steel Workers of America, Pennsylvania.

McGill, James H., McGill Manufacturing Co., Valparaiso, Ind.

McMahon, Francis, professor, University of Chicago.

McWilliams, Carey, attorney, writer, Los Angeles, Calif.

Motherwell, Hiram, author, New York.

Murray, Philip, president Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.

Mulzac, Hugh (captain), United States merchant marine, Jamaica, Long Island.
Neilson, William A., educator, Falls Village, Conn.
Niebuhr, Reinhold (Dr.), professor, Union Theological Seminary, New York.
Norris, George W. (Hon.), Nebraska.
Osowski, W. T. (Dr.), president, American Slav Congress, Michigan.
Patton, James G., president, National Farmers Union, Colorado.
Perry, Jennings, editor, Nashville Tennessean, Tennessee.
Pinchot, Cornelia Bryce, Washington, D. C.
Pinchot, Gifford, Milford, Pa.
Platek, V. X., president, National Slovak Society, Pennsylvania.
Pope, Liston (Dr.), Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
Popper, Martin, executive secretary, National Lawyers Guild.
Porter, Katherine Anne, writer, New York.
Poynter, Nelson, publisher, St. Petersburg Times, Fla.
Quilici, George L. (Judge), municipal court, Chicago, Ill.
Ratica, Peter, president, United Russian Orthodox Brotherhood of America, Pennsylvania.
Reid, Ira (Dr.), associate director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.
Reynolds, J. Louis, Reynolds Metal Co., Virginia.
Ricker, A. W., editor, Farm Union Herald, St. Paul, Minn.
Rieve, Emil, president, Textile Workers Union of America, New York.
Robeson, Paul, actor, New York.
Robinson, Edward G., Hollywood, Calif.
Robinson, Edward G. (Mrs.), Hollywood, Calif.
Robinson, Reid, president, United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America, Colorado.
Rosenblum, Frank, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York.
Rosenthal, Morris S., Stein, Hall & Co., Inc., New York.
Ross, J. D. (Mrs.), Seattle, Wash.
Ryan, H. Frank, managing editor, Courier-Post, Camden, N. J.
Sackett, Sheldon F., editor, Coos Bay Times, Marshfield, Oreg.
Schlesinger, Arthur M., professor of history, Harvard University.
Schuman, Frederick L., professor of international relations, Williams College, Massachusetts.
Schwartz, C. K., attorney, Chicago, Ill.
Seiferheld, David F., president, N. Erlanger Blumgart & Co., New York City.
Smathers, William H. (Hon.), New Jersey.
Smith, Lillian, editor, South Today, and author, Strange Fruit, Georgia.
Smith, S. Stephenson, Eugene, Oreg.
Soule, George, associate editor, New Republic, New York City.
Speir, Mercedes Powell, president, Richmond Consumers Co-Operative, Richmond, Va.
Steele, Julian D., president, Boston Branch National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Boston, Mass.
Sweezy, Alan, professor of economics, Williams College, Massachusetts.
Stone, Maurice L., business executive, New York.
Thomas, R. J., president, United Automobile, Aircraft, Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Detroit, Mich.
Tilly, M. E. (Mrs.), jurisdictional secretary of Christian Social Relations of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Women's Society for Christian Service, Methodist Church, Georgia.
Tobias, Channing H. (Dr.), member of Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation and Mayor's Committee on Unity, New York City.
Townsend, Willard, president, United Transport Service Employees of America, Chicago, Ill.
Van Kleeck, Mary, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.
Walsh, J. Raymond, Director of Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee, New York.
Waring, P. Alston, farmer-author, New Hope, Pa.
Weaver, Robert C. (Dr.), Mayor's Committee on Racial Relations, Chicago, Ill.
Welles, Orson, Hollywood, Calif.
Wesley, Carter, publisher, Houston Informer, Texas.
Wheelwright, Ellen Du Pont (Mrs.), Wilmington, Del.
Whitney, A. F., president, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Ohio.
Williams, Aubrey, National Farmers Union, Washington, D. C.
Wilson, Luke I. (Mrs.), Bethesda, Md.

Wise, James Waterman, author, radio commentator, New York.

Wright Jr., R. R. (Bishop), executive secretary, Negro Fraternal Council of Churches in America, Ohio.

Young, P. B., publisher, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Virginia.

Zeman Jr., Stephen, president, Slovak Evangelical Union, Pennsylvania.

Zmrhal, Jaroslav J. (Prof.), president, Czechoslovak National Council, Illinois.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On this list there are 142 names. The Honorable George Norris has since died, leaving 141 names with which we are concerned at the present time. Checking the 141 names on this list of the National Citizens Action Committee against the 25 organizations which the Attorney General has characterized as subversive and Communist, we find 82 of the 141 have been affiliated with one or more of these 25 organizations. I offer a list of the 25 organizations, followed by a list of the 82 individuals who have been affiliated with them, as exhibit 3, to be incorporated in the record.

Mr. COSTELLO. Without objection, it will be received.

(The list referred to, marked "Exhibit 3," follows:)

EXHIBIT 3

American Council on Soviet Relations	International Publishers
American League for Peace and Democracy	International Workers Order
American League Against War and Fascism	League of American Writers
American Peace Mobilization	Michigan Civil Rights Federation
American Youth Congress	National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder	National Committee for Peoples Rights
Communist Party	National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
Congress of American Revolutionary Writers	National Negro Congress
Daily Worker	New Masses
Emergency Peace Mobilization	United States Congress Against War
Freiheit	Washington Bookshop
International Labor Defense	Washington Committee for Democratic Action
	Workers Alliance

Adamic, Louis, 6
 Anderson, Mary, 2
 Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, 1
 Balokovich, Zlatko, 2
 Barnes, Verda White, 1
 Bauer, Catherine, 2
 Benet, William Rose, 5
 Benson, Elmer, 7
 Bethune, Mary McLeod, 5
 Bittner, Van A., 3
 Bliven, Bruce, 4
 Boas, Ernest P., 1
 Bowie, W. Russell, 2
 Butkovich, John D., 1
 Carey, James B., 6
 Clyde, Ethel, 1
 Connelly, Marc, 2
 Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1
 Curran, Joseph, 14
 Dalrymple, Sherman H., 1
 Davis, Michael M., 1
 Dombrowski, James, 3
 Dunjee, Roscoe, 1

DuPont, Zara, 2
 Durr, Mrs. Clifford, 2
 Embree, Edwin R., 2
 Epstein, Henry, 1
 Foreman, Clark, 1
 Frazier, E. Franklin, 3
 Gimbel, Elinor, 1
 Green, John, 1
 Gutknecht, John, 1
 Hastie, William, 2
 Haywood, Allan S., 2
 Hecht, Ben, 1
 Hillman, Sidney, 2
 Hughes, Langston, 12
 Kenyon, Dorothy, 2
 Kingdon, Frank, 1
 Kirchway, Freda, 3
 Lange, Oscar, 1
 Lapp, John A., 3
 LeCron, James, 1
 Lee, Canada, 1
 Lerner, Max, 6
 Lewis, Alfred Baker, 2

Lewis, John Frederick, 1
 Lewis, William Draper, 1
 Lochard, Metz T. P., 2
 McConnell, Francis J., 5
 McCulloch, Frank, 1
 McGill, James H., 1
 McWilliams, Carey, 8
 Murray, Philip, 3
 Neilson, William A., 1
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, 3
 Osowski, W. T., 1
 Pinchot, Gifford, 1
 Pinchot, Mrs. Gifford, 1
 Popper, Martin, 1
 Porter, Katherine Anne, 1
 Reid, Ira, 4
 Robeson, Paul, 8
 Robinson, Reid, 6

Schlesinger, Arthur M., 1
 Schuman, Frederick L., 5
 Smith, Lillian, 1
 Smith, S. Stephenson, 1
 Soule, George, 4
 Steele, Julian D., 1
 Sweezy, Alan, 1
 Thomas, R. J., 1
 Tobias, Channing H., 3
 Townsend, Willard, 2
 Van Kleeck, Mary, 6
 Walsh, J. Raymond, 2
 Weaver, Robert C., 2
 Welles, Orson, 2
 Whitney, A. F., 8
 Williams, Aubrey, 3
 Wilson, Mrs. Luke I., 2
 Wise, James Waterman, 6

Mr. MATTHEWS. After the name of each of the individuals you will find a number. That number indicates the number of the foregoing organizations with which the individual was affiliated. For example, in the case of Louis Adamic you will find the figure "6" after his name, which means that Louis Adamic was affiliated with six of the organizations which the Attorney General found to be subversive and Communist. And in that connection it seems to me pertinent to point out that in his order for the deportation of Harry Bridges the Attorney General did not find that Bridges was affiliated with more than six Communist front organizations, and on the basis of his findings concerning Harry Bridges he concluded that he was a Communist, not because he had his party membership card, but because Bridges was affiliated with Communist front organizations, and his statements and behavior in connection therewith indicated to the Attorney General that he was a Communist, and therefore ought to be deported.

Mr. COSTELLO. On the same logic or reasoning, that would apply to each of these members here who are listed on this list as being Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, in each case perhaps the record will have to speak for itself, because in some cases you have one affiliation, in others, like Joseph Curran, you have Curran affiliated with 14 of the 25 organizations. When we come to subsequent testimony I think it will be clear that Curran is entitled to the rank of the indispensable man in Communist front organizations. Scarcely a Communist front organization has been set up during the past 5 years that he is not a member of.

Mr. THOMAS. How many indispensable men are we going to have here?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is hardly one of them that Mr. Curran has not been affiliated with. You will find others having 8 affiliations, like Paul Robeson, A. F. Whitney, Max Lerner of PM, who has 6, Reid Robinson has 6, James B. Carey, the secretary of the C. I. O. has 6 affiliations. Elmer Benson has 7. Langston Hughes, an avowed member of the Communist Party, has 12. James Waterman Wise has 6, and so on down the list.

I should point out at this point that the Attorney General was not investigating the entire field of Communist front organizations.

His investigation was restricted to those organizations with which it was alleged Federal Government employees were affiliated, which was a much smaller field than the entire list of Communist fronts. So that tomorrow, when we come to the question of the entire field of Communist front organizations, we will find that considerably more than 82 members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee were affiliated with Communist front organizations, and instead of 25 we will find 10 times 25 Communist front organizations, and instead of a maximum number of 14 affiliations, such as Joseph Curran's, we will find that Curran has been affiliated with 47 Communist front organizations. And the type of evidence to be presented will, roughly, approximate the type of evidence that the Attorney General summarizes in characterizing these organizations as Communist. The conclusions which appear to flow logically from this summary, without coming to the fuller evidence which will be presented tomorrow, would seem to be that here, if ever, is a Communist front organization.

The principle of the interlocking directorate is clearly established by these figures. If the list of membership of the National Citizens Political Action Committee had been drawn up by Earl Browder personally in Communist Party headquarters, it would be difficult to see how that list would have varied in any important respect. Having studied hundreds of lists of the personnel of Communist front organizations during the past 6 years, this committee, I am sure, will see at a glance that these are the people who have, by and large, constituted front after front, set up by the party during the past decade. They are the familiar names of the fellow travelers and avowed party members.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Matthews, would you call the National Citizens Political Action Committee the most active Communist front organization in the United States today?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It seems to me that that is the unavoidable conclusion, that this is the Communist Party's major front organization. Furthermore, it represents the Communist Party's supreme bid for power throughout its 25 years of history in the United States. Never before has it set up a front organization with so ambitious an objective as that of the National Citizens Political Action Committee. It is the party's supreme bid for power—and I use the word "party" instead of Communist Political Association, on the ground that the Communist Party has simply gone underground and has come up under the name of the Communist Political Association in order to advance the purposes which are involved in the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

Mr. COSTELLO. The only purpose in organizing the Communist Political Association is to lead the public into believing that that is the Communist activity, while this other, the National Citizens Political Action Committee, is put forward as not a Communist organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think that is true. The committee's report in March dealt with the obvious reasons for the dissolution of the Communist Party and its reappearance as the Communist Political Association on that ground. The evidence seems to indicate that quite clearly. In subsequent evidence to be submitted a complete tabulation will be shown for each individual member of the National Citizens

Political Action Committee who has affiliation with Communist front organizations.

At this time I offer a tabulation consisting of three typewritten pages, which picks up the 25 organizations named by the Attorney General in his memoranda, and lists under each one the names of the National Citizens Political Action Committee who have been affiliated with the organization. With the American Council on Soviet Relations, Reid Robinson, Frederick L. Schuman, and Mary Van Kleeck. That is simply a further break-down of this more general tabulation, so that the evidence will be very specific and not general. For example, from the tabulations on these three pages you will see at a glance which members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee were affiliated with the American Peace Mobilization, the organization which picketed the White House during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Mr. THOMAS. I hope that the Attorney General in this political campaign will point out to the American people that the National Citizens Political Action Committee, based on his own findings, is the leading Communist front organization in the United States. If you ever have an opportunity to write to the Attorney General I think you should bring that to his attention.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to offer these three sheets as exhibit 4.

Mr. Chairman, do you wish to make a formal note that this tabulation is to be included in the record?

Mr. COSTELLO. Yes, it should be included, and without objection it will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The tabulation referred to, consisting of three sheets, was marked "Exhibit 4" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT 4

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SOVIET RELATIONS

Reid Robinson	Frederick L. Schuman	Mary Van Kleeck
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AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Catherine Bauer	Mary McLeod Bethune	Bruce Bliven
John D. Butkovich	James B. Carey	Joseph Curran
Sherman H. Dalrymple	Max Lerner	Francis J. McConnell
Reinhold Niebuhr	Paul Robeson	Reid Robinson
Frederick L. Schuman	S. Stephenson Smith	Channing H. Tobias
A. F. Whitney	James Waterman Wise	

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Louis Adamic	Mary Anderson	Mrs. Sherwood Anderson
Van A. Bittner	Bruce Bliven	Joseph Curran
Michael M. Davis	Edwin R. Embree	Langston Hughes
Freda Kirchwey	Francis J. McConnell	Reinhold Niebuhr
Ira Reid	Reid Robinson	Frederick L. Schuman
Mary Van Kleeck	A. F. Whitney	James Waterman Wise

AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION

Elmer Benson	James B. Carey	Joseph Curran
Langston Hughes	Canada Lee	Metz T. P. Lochard
Carey McWilliams	Martin Popper	Paul Robeson
Reid Robinson	Lillian Smith	

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

Elmer Benson	Mary McLeod Bethune	Van A. Bittner
Bruce Bliven	James B. Carey	Joseph Curran
E. Franklin Frazier	Dorothy Kenyon	Frank Kingdon
Philip Murray	George Soule	Mary Van Kleeck
A. F. Whitney	Aubrey Williams	James Waterman Wise

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO FREE EARL BROWDER

W. Russell Bowie	Albert Sprague Coolidge	Joseph Curran
Zara DuPont	E. Franklin Frazier	Max Lerner
William Draper Lewis	Francis J. McConnell	Carey McWilliams
Ira Reid	Paul Robeson	Reid Robinson
Willard Townsend	Mary Van Kleeck	James Waterman Wise

COMMUNIST PARTY

Langston Hughes

COMMUNIST PARTY, STATEMENTS DEFENDING

Zlatko Balokovic	Van A. Bittner	Max Lerner
Allan S. Haywood	John A. Lapp	Paul Robeson
Francis J. McConnell	Carey McWilliams	
George Soule	James Dombrowski	

CONFERENCE ON CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES IN AMERICA

Elmer Benson	John A. Lapp	Carey McWilliams
William H. Hastie	Channing H. Tobias	
Joseph Curran	James Dombrowski	

CONGRESS OF AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS

Langston Hughes

DAILY WORKER

Louis Adamis	Verda Barnes	Langston Hughes
Oscar Lange	Paul Robeson	Orson Welles

EMERGENCY PEACE MOBILIZATION

Joseph Curran	Metz T. P. Lochard	Paul Robeson
Reid Robinson	Lillian Smith	

FREIHEIT

Sidney Hillman

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

Joseph Curran	Allan S. Haywood	Dorothy Kenyon
A. F. Whitney		

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

Bruce Bliven	Frederick L. Schuman
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INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

Van A. Bittner	James B. Carey	Joseph Curran
Langston Hughes	Carey McWilliams	Philip Murray
Frederick L. Schuman		

LABOR DEFENDER

Elmer Benson	Joseph Curran	Langston Hughes
James Waterman Wise		

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

William Rose Benet	James B. Carey	Ben Hecht
Langston Hughes	Max Lerner	Carey McWilliams
George Soule	J. Raymond Walsh	Orson Welles
A. F. Whitney	James Waterman Wise	

MICHIGAN CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION

John A. Lapp	Max Lerner	Francis J. McConnell
W. T. Osowski	R. J. Thomas	

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Louis Adamic	William Rose Benet	Marc Connelly
Langston Hughes		

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

Louis Adamic	William Rose Benet	Marc Connelly
Mrs. Clifford Durr	Langston Hughes	George Soule

NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

Louis Adamic	William Rose Benet	Elmer Benson
Mary McLeod Bethune	Ernest P. Boas	W. Russell Bowie
Ethel Clyde	Joseph Curran	James Dombrowski
Zara DuPont	Edwin R. Embree	Elinor Gimbel
John Green	Langston Hughes	Max Lerner
Alfred Baker Lewis	John Frederick Lewis	Freda Kirchwey
Carey McWilliams	James H. McGill	William A. Neilson
Ira Reid	Paul Robeson	Arthur M. Schlesinger
Channing H. Tobias	Willard Townsend	J. Raymond Walsh
A. F. Whitney	Mrs. Luke I. Wilson	

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

Elmer Benson	Mary McLeod Bethune	Joseph Curran
Sidney Hillman	Alfred Baker Lewis	Philip Murray
Julian D. Steele	Alan Sweezy	Robert C. Weaver

NEW MASSES

Louis Adamic	Zlatko Balokovic	Roscoe Dunjee
Bruce Bliven	Joseph Curran	Langston Hughes
Henry Epstein	E. Franklin Frazier	Carey McWilliams
Freda Kirchwey	Max Lerner	Mary Van Kleeck
Katherine Anne Porter	Paul Robeson	
A. F. Whitney	William Rose Benet	

UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

Reinhold Niebuhr	Ira Reid	Frederick L. Schuman
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WASHINGTON BOOKSHOP

Robert C. Weaver	Mrs. Luke I. Wilson
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WASHINGTON COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Mary Anderson	Catherine Bauer	Clark Foreman
James B. Carey	Mrs. Clifford Durr	James LeCron
E. Franklin Frazier	William H. Hastie	Mary Van Kleeck
Gifford Pinchot	Mrs. Gifford Pinchot	
Aubrey Williams	Mary McLeod Bethune	

WORKERS ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Elmer Benson	Joseph Curran	Frank McCulloch
Aubrey Williams		

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then to take up one or two of these organizations as samples, we might take the American Peace Mobilization. You will find that 11 members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee have been affiliated with that organization.

I have some additional material here which is not included in the Attorney General's memorandum on the American Peace Mobilization, which I have already read. For example, in one of its official statements, issued in March 1941, the American Peace Mobilization declared:

But even if we do not approve of England's war, isn't her side still preferable to Hitler's? And isn't it better to fight and beat Hitler with England than without her? No; an English victory will result in the same sort of imperialist, anti-democratic peace as will a Nazi victory.

Now, I think it is generally assumed by the public that the Communist line, as expressed in the American Peace Mobilization, was so clearly Communist that there were few, if any, innocents who belonged to the organization. It seems a fair assumption that the 11 members of the National Political Action Committee who lent their names to that appraisal of the present war 2 or 3 months prior to Hitler's attack on Russia knew very well that they were affiliated with a Communist organization which was carrying out solely the Communist Party line. And, incidentally, the nature of the affiliation in each case is an important affiliation. It involves national leadership in the American Peace Mobilization. It was not a case of simply being a member in some local branch, but rather affiliation with a national body as a national officer.

In view of the fact that Benson, Carey, Curran, Hughes, Lee, Lochard, McWilliams, Popper, Robeson, Reid Robinson, and Lillian Smith are now associated with Hillman for the reelection of the President, it may be illuminating to read the words of the songs which these same 11 individuals sang 3½ years ago, just prior to Hitler's attack on Russia. One of the American Peace Mobilization songs published in its own official literature was entitled "Franklin, O, Franklin," and contained the following lines:

Franklin, O, Franklin,
You rode the New Deal train
But you've come to the end of your line.

Another of the American Peace Mobilization songs had the following chorus:

O Franklin* Roosevelt told the people how he felt,
We damn near believed what he said.
He said, "I hate war, and so does Eleanor,
But we won't be safe till everybody's dead."

Mr. THOMAS. I understand these are songs of the American Peace Mobilization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right, published in their own official program for their national convention held in New York City in March of 1941. And, incidentally, underneath these songs the names of these people on the National Citizens Political Action Committee appeared. Now, Mr. Hillman has alleged on various occasions that he is above association with Communists, even a single Communist, and evidence of his contention has been presented already in the committee's report of March.

Mr. COSTELLO. These 11 members of the American Peace Mobilization who sponsored the publication of these songs of their own organization belong to the organization that was very anti-Roosevelt, but they are today enthusiastic sponsors of the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right. And were very anti-lend-lease, anti-Burke-Wadsworth conscription, and anti-anything else that had to do with the preparation of this country for its military emergency, down to the very hour of Hitler's attack on Russia on June 22, 1941. Subsequent to that time they completely reversed their position with respect to the United States, but I think in fairness to them it should be stressed that they are not inconsistent; they have never shown the slightest degree of inconsistency. In fact, their consistency is perfect, and that is devotion to the interests of a foreign power.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me ask you this question, just to get your opinion: What is going to be the position, in your opinion, when our war with Germany is over and we still have a war on with Japan, and Russia doesn't enter that war on our side with Japan?

Mr. MATTHEWS. If you follow the precedents which they themselves have established, they have only one consistent principle of action, namely, to follow any line which is laid down by the Communist Party, irrespective of the interests of the United States. If the line of the Communist Party is to sabotage defense and military preparedness, these people have records of engaging in that sabotage. If the Communist Party's line is to advance the interest of Soviet foreign policy of a different sort, they then follow along with that line.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course, we can assume that Russia will declare war against Japan when they get around to it, but if they should not, there is always the danger then that the Communists in this country will oppose, will do everything they possibly can to interfere with our Military Establishment in the war with Japan, if Russia isn't in the war.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the basis of past performance you could write that down as a certainty.

Mr. COSTELLO. As a matter of fact, if we should have a prolonged war between the United States and Japan, Russia not being a party to that war, it might well be that the Communist program might be the same as it was prior to the Hitler attack on Russia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. And you would have incidents, we are safe in assuming, like the North American Aviation incident, when the President was compelled to seize the plants by the United States Army, and the Attorney General announced publicly that it was a Communist-inspired strike.

Mr. COSTELLO. And the Communists, having complete control of this particular organization, the C. I. O., would be practically in complete control of our program for carrying on the war with Japan?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

That is all I have this morning. That concludes this particular section of the testimony.

Mr. COSTELLO. You wish to postpone the other matters until tomorrow?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. Regarding the C. I. O. and its activities, as I understand the C. I. O.-P. A. C. is today still functioning in the labor field among labor unions as the National Citizens Action Committee, which

is a broader organization functioning among all the people and giving everybody an opportunity to join in contributing to their program, but that both organizations are still functioning. Is that correct?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was my understanding—and I spoke only with reference to their funds—now, maybe I am wrong about that, but I had understood Mr. Hillman to testify that the funds of the C. I. O. P. A. C. had been frozen for the campaign. Is that correct, Mr. Stripling?

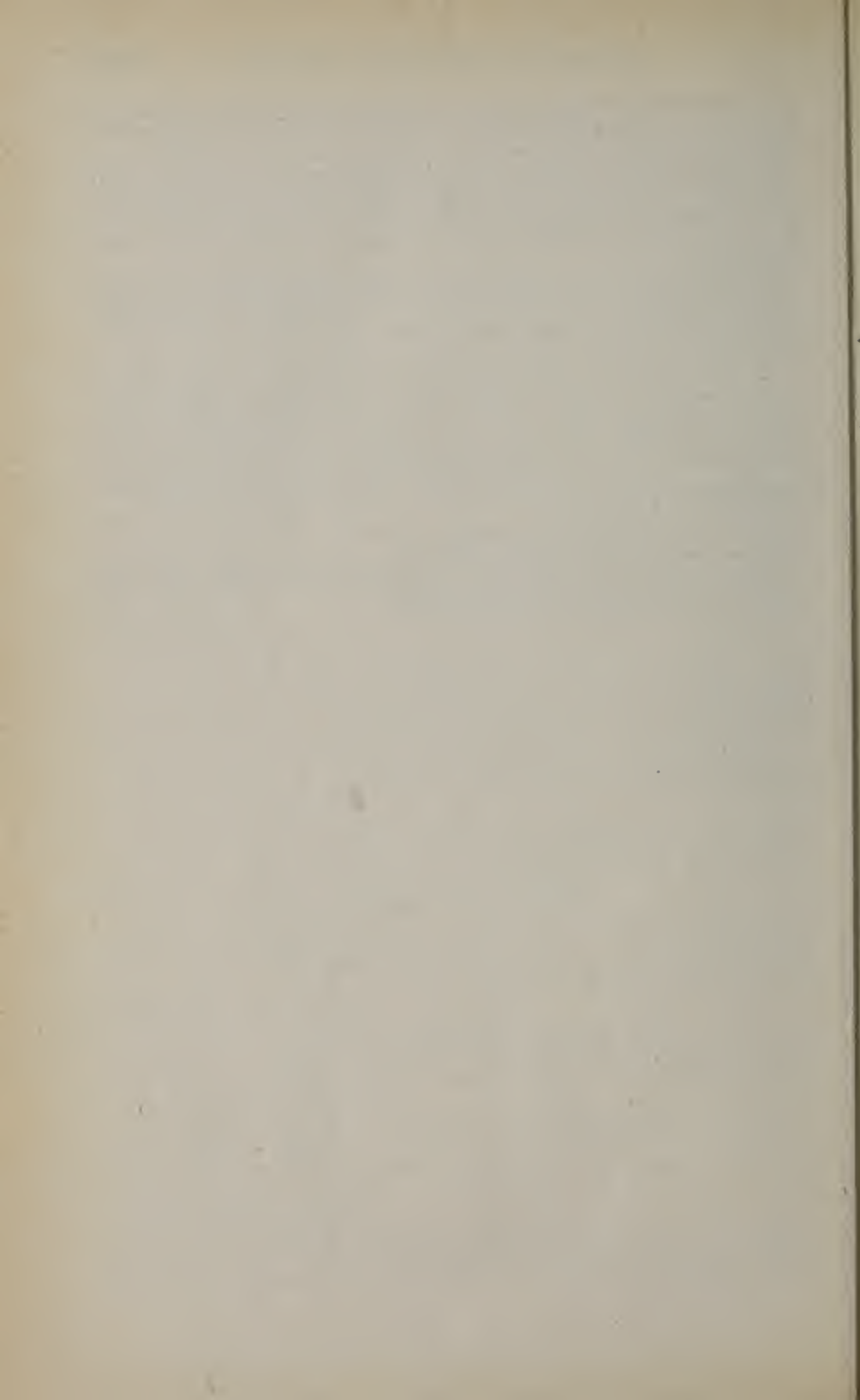
Mr. STRIPLING. It has been frozen. They froze \$300,000 and they are now being financed within the P. A. C. in order to meet the provisions of the act. Both organizations are functioning, and the P. A. C. is actually the machine of both organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I meant to speak only with reference to the finances.

Mr. COSTELLO. But as to the political activities of both organizations, that is continuing. That was indicated by the testimony of the gentleman from Chicago, who stated that workers were being taken out of the factories and hired to do campaign work and were being paid from the treasury funds of the local unions. That, of course, would be a C. I. O. P. A. C. activity.

That will conclude the hearings for today. The committee will adjourn until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 10:30 a. m. Wednesday, October 4, 1944.)



INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1944

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO
INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. John M. Costello presiding.

Present: Hon. John M. Costello, of California, and Hon. J. Parnell Thomas, of New Jersey.

Also present: Hon. Herman P. Eberharter, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Mr. J. B. Matthews, research director.

Mr. COSTELLO. The committee will be in order. We will resume the hearing of yesterday. Is Mr. David Loth present? Would you come forward, Mr. Loth?

TESTIMONY OF DAVID LOTH, MANAGING EDITOR, PRESS RESEARCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Costello.)

Mr. COSTELLO. Will you state your name for the record, Mr. Loth?

Mr. LOTH. My name is David Loth, 1530 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

In answer to the subpoena I brought, which I did not have when your man called yesterday, a few copies of this [producing pamphlet].

Mr. STRIPLING. This is a copy of the book entitled "Going My Way"?

Mr. LOTH. That's right. I brought several. And in case you wanted my history and background, I prepared a brief statement of it [presenting a paper].

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Loth, will you state for the record where you were born?

Mr. LOTH. I was born in St. Louis, December 7, 1899.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. LOTH. Yes. I attended public school in St. Louis, in Chicago, and suburbs of Chicago, and was graduated from the University of Missouri with a degree in journalism in 1920.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you also give the committee a résumé of your employment since you left school?

Mr. LOTH. I was on the staff of the New York World from 1920 until 1931, including 1 year that I spent in Australia, partly as correspondent for the World and partly on the staff of the Sydney Daily Guardian.

After the World was sold I ran a newspaper of my own in Spain for 2 years, 1932 to 1934, an English paper.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the name of the paper?

Mr. LOTH. Majorca Sun and Spanish Times. I returned to this country in 1934 and was on the staff of the New York Times until 1941, when I joined the staff of the Office of Inter-American Affairs, first in New York for a few months and then in Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you join the staff of the Office of Inter-American Affairs?

Mr. LOTH. In May 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long were you employed by that agency?

Mr. LOTH. Until May 15 of this year. They still call me once in a great while, as more or less of a consultant on some of the things that I was doing for them.

Mr. STRIPLING. You still act in the capacity of a consultant for the Office of Inter-American Affairs?

Mr. LOTH. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you receive any compensation?

Mr. LOTH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the compensation you receive?

Mr. LOTH. Well, it is a per diem arrangement when I am actually being consulted. The total compensation since May 15 has amounted to a little over \$100.

Mr. STRIPLING. Since May 15 of this year?

Mr. LOTH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How much per day do you receive?

Mr. LOTH. I am not quite sure. It is worked out on the basis of the salary with which I left there. I gather it is one three hundred sixty-fifth of that salary plus something else which I don't quite understand.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your salary and the title of your position with the Office of Inter-American Affairs?

Mr. LOTH. I was Chief of the Publication Section at \$6,500.

Mr. STRIPLING. How did you obtain your position with the Office of Inter-American Affairs?

Mr. LOTH. I had taken a civil-service examination for information specialist in the Government, and the Office of Inter-American Affairs called me up. I understand that my name was then at the top of the list and they asked me to come down for an interview in New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you resided or did you reside in New York City?

Mr. LOTH. I lived there from 1920 until 1930, the end of 1930, and from 1934 until 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. You lived there from 1934 to 1941?

Mr. LOTH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your address in New York City?

Mr. LOTH. I had several. My first address was on Eighty-first Street, I don't remember the number. I lived there just a short time. Then I moved to 39 East Thirty-eighth Street, then to 56 Seventh Avenue, and then to 139 East Thirty-fifth Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Loth, according to the Communist election petition filed with the secretary of state of New York for 1936, one David Loth, 39 East Thirty-eighth Street, Manhattan, N. Y., is listed as

one of the registered Communist voters. Are you the same David Loth?

Mr. LOTH. I am, but I did not register as a Communist that year. The matter was investigated when I went to work for the Government, and I think both the Treasury Intelligence and the Civil Service, after investigation, were satisfied that that was not the case.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you sign a Communist election petition?

Mr. LOTH. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. How did your name appear on the Communist petition?

Mr. LOTH. I don't think it did.

Mr. STRIPLING. The records, Mr. Chairman, show the name of David Loth, 39 East Thirty-eighth Street, Manhattan, N. Y., as one of the signers in the general election of 1936. What explanation do you have for that?

Mr. LOTH. I have none, unless it was taken off the election book which one of the investigators showed me.

Mr. THOMAS. One of what investigators?

Mr. LOTH. An investigator from the Treasury Intelligence, I think he was, who investigated the personnel of the Office of Inter-American Affairs.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you remember his name?

Mr. LOTH. I am sorry, I don't remember his name. He showed me a photostat of the election book which I had signed when I voted in 1936, and next to my name was written "Com." not in my handwriting. Other than that I know nothing.

Mr. THOMAS. On the same page next to other names were there other political designations noted?

Mr. LOTH. I didn't see the photostat of the whole page, just of the strip containing my name.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean to say he didn't show you the page? He just showed you your name?

Mr. LOTH. That's right, the strip taken from it. I think there was a name above and a name below, which I didn't notice.

Mr. THOMAS. When was this? When did he show you this?

Mr. LOTH. In the summer of 1941.

Mr. THOMAS. That is after you had made application for this position?

Mr. LOTH. That was after I had been employed, and they were going through the records.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you develop that very thoroughly, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in New York the original petition can be obtained and the signatures, of course, can be compared. We have not had time or opportunity to do that, but the list which we have here was taken from the petition in New York, and the name and address both coincide with the witness.

Mr. Loth, have you ever contributed or written for so-called Communist publications?

Mr. LOTH. I had one article published in the New Masses at one time. I have written for all kinds of publications all the way from that biographical sketch, in the New Masses, to a biography of Alexander Hamilton.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you written, for instance, for the Daily Worker?

Mr. LOTH. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you have written for New Masses?

Mr. LOTH. I had one article published in there. It was not written specially for them.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have here, Mr. Chairman, an issue of the New Masses of September 28, 1937, in which appears an article on page 18 entitled "Juan March, Franco's Money Man," by David Loth. I ask the witness if this is the article which he wrote.

Mr. LOTH. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know of any other publications similar to the New Masses and the Daily Worker that you have contributed to?

Mr. LOTH. No; I have never contributed to any publications similar to them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are you employed at present?

Mr. LOTH. I am now managing editor of Press Research.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is Press Research, Mr. Loth?

Mr. LOTH. Press Research is a new private enterprise furnishing background service for newspapers and magazines. We supply the factual background and quotations and opinions on various features of the day to subscribing newspapers.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was it formed?

Mr. LOTH. It was organized last May.

Mr. STRIPLING. By whom?

Mr. LOTH. By Nelson Poynter, of St. Petersburg, Fla.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that P-o-y-n-t-e-r?

Mr. LOTH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it incorporated?

Mr. LOTH. Yes; it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. In what State?

Mr. LOTH. In Florida.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who are the incorporators?

Mr. LOTH. I don't know the others than Poynter.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't know who the incorporators are?

Mr. LOTH. No. I am not an officer of the corporation myself. I believe it is Mr. Poynter's family. I don't know that of my own knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many subscribers does Press Research have?

Mr. LOTH. About 20 newspapers and half a dozen magazines, weeklies, and semiweeklies.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it financed entirely by the income from the 20 publications?

Mr. LOTH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How large is its staff?

Mr. LOTH. We have a staff of seven or eight. It varies a little.

Mr. STRIPLING. The only office is located in Washington?

Mr. LOTH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a publication which the committee subpoenaed entitled "Going My Way." Have any copies of this publication been sold in quantities to any organization or individual?

Mr. LOTH. Not that I know of. I know nothing about the published form of that pamphlet.

Mr. STRIPLING. What about the so-called loose-leaf form of it?

Mr. LOTH. That is the form in which we sent it to our subscribing newspapers.

Mr. STRIPLING. But did you sell this to any organization or individual?

Mr. LOTH. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the Democratic National Committee buy any copies of it?

Mr. LOTH. No. They requested permission to reprint it, and they offered to pay a fee for it, which we did not want to accept, but we gave them permission to reprint the report, with credit to us, which they gave us.

Mr. STRIPLING. In what form did they reprint it?

Mr. LOTH. In the form in which you have it in your hand.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they compile this?

Mr. LOTH. No. The cover is theirs.

Mr. STRIPLING. The cover is the Democratic National Committee's cover?

Mr. LOTH. Yes. The rest of it is an offset reproduction of these sheets, except for the tables of contents which were replaced by an index.

Mr. STRIPLING. Explain to the committee, Mr. Loth, the general nature of the material contained in these green copies which you have submitted to the committee.

Mr. LOTH. This was a report to give our member papers, our subscribing papers, the background on Governor Dewey of New York, for use in the campaign, divided into convenient form so that they could refer to Mr. Dewey's views on various subjects, domestic, foreign, and also his career as Governor, as prosecutor, and so on. It was designed to make this for a reference handbook for the editorial writers, political writers of the subscribing newspapers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the Democratic National Committee come to Press Research concerning the preparation of this pamphlet, or did Press Research go to the Democratic National Committee?

Mr. LOTH. I understand that the Democratic Committee telephoned to us.

Mr. STRIPLING. Telephoned to whom?

Mr. LOTH. They telephoned to Mr. Poynter.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever approached by the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O. regarding this material or its use in any way?

Mr. LOTH. This particular material; no. Some of our other material they have asked for, and we allowed them to make use of it in the same way that the Democratic Committee did, and as we have done for the Republican National Committee, who have asked for some of our material.

Mr. STRIPLING. What are the other publications?

Mr. LOTH. Well, we have gotten out—this is one of a little over forty that we have prepared. We have prepared reports on such things as the future of the merchant marine, the reconversion problem, surplus property disposal, the record of Mr. Truman, Mr. Bricker, the foreign policy of recent years, going back to the last several administrations. I would say about forty-odd.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many copies of this particular material dealing with Mr. Dewey, one entitled "Special Report No. 1: Dewey on Domestic Policies"—here is another under the same date, June 21, 1944,

entitled "Box with Dewey: Special Report No. 1"; another one, no date, "Special Report No. 1: Dewey"—how many copies of these various reports on Mr. Dewey were printed by the Press Research?

Mr. LOTH. We mimeographed. We didn't print any of them. We mimeographed about 150 copies, because our member papers generally like anywhere from 2 to 6 or 7 copies.

Mr. COSTELLO. Do you have a list of these papers that you serve with your publications?

Mr. LOTH. No; I do not. I can tell you most of them, however.

Mr. COSTELLO. We would like to have that list.

Mr. LOTH. I will be glad to furnish it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you had any communications with the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O.?

Mr. LOTH. I talked to some of the people who belonged to it; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who, for instance?

Mr. LOTH. I have talked chiefly with their publicity man, Mr. Ping Ferry.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times have you talked with Mr. Ferry?

Mr. LOTH. When he was with the International Labor Organization I saw him several times; while he was with P. A. C. perhaps 4 or 5 times, not more.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you talk with anyone else with the Political Action Committee?

Mr. LOTH. I have talked with Mr. Joseph Riznik 2 or 3 times. I don't think he is with them any longer.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was Mr. Riznik's position?

Mr. LOTH. He was working with the publicity.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was executive editor of Political Action, wasn't he?

Mr. LOTH. That may be. I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever have any conferences in Washington with Mr. Riznik?

Mr. LOTH. Well, we had a cup of coffee together once while he was in Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. C. B. Baldwin, assistant chairman of the Political Action Committee?

Mr. LOTH. I have met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you meet Mr. Baldwin?

Mr. LOTH. I think I first met him 2 or 3 years ago at the home of a friend.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean this year, since November of last year, since he has been with the Political Action Committee.

Mr. LOTH. I met him in Mr. Poynter's house one Sunday afternoon. I stopped by there for perhaps 15 or 20 minutes.

Mr. COSTELLO. You are not a member of the Political Action Committee, are you?

Mr. LOTH. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Poynter is a member, is he not?

Mr. LOTH. He is a member of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, I think the name is.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is a member of the National Committee, Mr. Costello.

Have you contributed to the Political Action Committee?

Mr. LOTH. No; I have not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is there any working agreement between the Political Action Committee and the Press Research?

Mr. LOTH. None.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask a question right there? What financial assistance have you gotten from the C. I. O. Political Action Committee?

Mr. LOTH. None whatever.

Mr. THOMAS. What payments have you received from the C. I. O. Political Action Committee for material given it?

Mr. LOTH. None.

Mr. THOMAS. Then this work that you have done for them has been gratis?

Mr. LOTH. We have not done any work for them.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, the reports that you have given them. You admitted that.

Mr. LOTH. We have allowed them to make use of our reports, but the work was done for our clients.

Mr. THOMAS. I don't understand that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you name the clients for the committee?

Mr. LOTH. Well, as I say, I probably can't remember all of them, but there is the Louisville Courier-Journal, the Philadelphia Record, New York Post, Chicago Sun, Nashville Tennessean, Los Angeles Daily News, Mr. Poynter's paper, the St. Petersburg Times, the An-niston (Ala.) Star, the Sheboygan Press in Wisconsin, the Madison Times, also in Wisconsin.

Mr. THOMAS. And they all pay you for the service?

Mr. LOTH. That's right.

Mr. THOMAS. How is it the C. I. O. Political Action Committee can get the same service free of charge?

Mr. LOTH. Well, we were anxious also to sell the service to some of the labor weeklies.

Mr. THOMAS. That hasn't got anything to do with the labor weeklies. I am talking about the C. I. O. Political Action Committee.

Mr. LOTH. Excuse me—and the C. I. O. Political Action Committee has recommended it to labor weeklies as a good service, and several of the weeklies have subscribed to the service, and they are at perfect liberty, of course, to do what they want with the material, if they want to give it to the Political Action Committee.

Mr. THOMAS. But you yourself gave it to the Political Action Committee.

Mr. LOTH. Well, we couldn't ask them to approach papers that they have an interest in, I assume, without showing them what the service is. That is a sort of promotion: We have given these reports rather widely in order to make our service known.

Mr. THOMAS. But let us get it boiled down to the C. I. O. Political Action Committee. How did you happen to start giving them this service whereby they could get your reports free of charge?

Mr. LOTH. Well, they asked if they could see some of our reports. They heard we were being organized for service.

Mr. THOMAS. Who asked for them?

Mr. ROTH. I believe Mr. Riznik asked for it in the first instance.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he ask you or Mr. Poynter?

Mr. LOTH. He asked Mr. Poynter.

Mr. THOMAS. And Mr. Poynter told you then to give them anything they wanted, Is that correct?

Mr. LOTH. To give them any of our reports that they asked for.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. In that connection, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce into the record a telegram dated May 19, 1944, which was subpoenaed from the Western Union and was charged to the C. I. O. Political Action Committee in New York, addressed to Mr. David Loth, care Press Research, 732 Seventeenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Will be at Statler in Washington Saturday, Sunday.

J. Q. RIZNIK.

Is that when you had the coffee with him?

Mr. LOTH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the Statler?

Mr. LOTH. No; he came up to my house.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall receiving such a telegram?

Mr. LOTH. I do not, but I do remember that we got in touch with each other at about that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were in frequent touch with officials of the Political Action Committee, weren't you, Mr. Loth?

Mr. LOTH. No; I would not say so—perhaps two or three times with Mr. Riznik and four or five with Mr. Ferry over a period of several months.

Mr. STRIPLING. All prior to the issuance of this material?

Mr. LOTH. No; not all prior to it, both before and after.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is the Press Research working for the election of any particular candidates?

Mr. LOTH. We have our favorites.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it established to engage in political activity?

Mr. LOTH. No, not at all. It was established, as I said, to provide to newspapers background material on all current issues.

Mr. COSTELLO. Have you supplied your papers with material regarding Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Truman?

Mr. LOTH. Yes, we have. We have distributed a somewhat shorter document than this on Mr. Truman. We have made frequent mention of Mr. Roosevelt in a great many of our reports. It is very difficult to run any kind of a news service these days without bringing in the record of the President in all sorts of political matters. Our papers, naturally, are interested at this time in political issues, as well as others that are not particularly in politics.

Mr. THOMAS. Who dictated the preparation of this report here [indicating]?

Mr. LOTH. That was prepared by our staff of researchers and writers.

Mr. THOMAS. Whose decision was it to prepare this report?

Mr. LOTH. Mine and Mr. Poynter's in conference.

Mr. THOMAS. Whose decision was it to bring in these racial questions that you have in this report? For instance, under "James Farley" there is an address there by Mr. Farley. Who dictated that?

Mr. LOTH. That was put in by the writer of that particular section of the report.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he do it of his own volition, or did you dictate it?

Mr. LOTH. No, we did not dictate it.

Mr. THOMAS. When you saw it what did you do about it, just leave it there?

Mr. LOTH. That's right.

Mr. THOMAS. Don't you realize that that kind of report, particularly referring to the part that has to do with James A. Farley and Mr. Bennett, does more to foment racial disturbances in this country than almost any other kind of a report, and that that very thing is just keeping this racial disturbance alive? If you think you are alleviating the situation, you are sadly mistaken. You are just adding fuel to the fire, and that is just what this pamphlet has done.

Mr. LOTH. I would be sorry to believe that.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I hope that it won't get much distribution, at least that part of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Loth, would you tell the committee the revenue that Press Research receives from these 20 clients?

Mr. LOTH. I don't know. I don't keep the books, and I don't know that.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have some idea, though, as managing editor. You would certainly know in a general way the amount of revenue coming in from 20 newspapers.

Mr. LOTH. Yes. They pay on the basis of circulation, which makes it difficult, because I am not very familiar with their circulation, but it would be a little something over \$1,000 a week.

Mr. STRIPLING. From the 20 newspapers?

Mr. LOTH. Yes; from all the clients put together.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any clients besides these 20 newspapers?

Mr. LOTH. We have some weekly magazines, too.

Mr. STRIPLING. What are those weekly magazines?

Mr. LOTH. The New Republic, the Nation, several labor papers, the Advance and the Shipyard Worker, I believe, Scope, which is a monthly.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe you told the committee the staff was composed of about 7 individuals.

Mr. LOTH. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you name those individuals for the record?

Mr. LOTH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Give their titles also, the position they hold.

Mr. LOTH. There is Mr. Buel Patch, a writer and researcher, reporter; Charles Alldredge, also a writer; Miss Anne Kingsbury, who is a researcher; Miss Esther Dannenberg, who is a researcher; Mrs. Helen Goodman, who is secretary to all of the staff; and Mrs. Bettie Lindsay, who is a typist.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that last name?

Mr. LOTH. Mrs. Lindsay.

Mr. COSTELLO. How do you spell that?

Mr. LOTH. L-i-n-d-s-a-y.

Mr. THOMAS. And what is her first name?

Mr. LOTH. Bettie.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Loth, are you sure that the Press Research receives no subsidy from any organization or individual?

Mr. LOTH. None whatever, other than the subscriptions from the member papers. If that does not meet our expenses, I assume that that is Mr. Poynter's loss, as the organizer of the corporation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether Mr. Poynter has been in conference or communication with the Political Action Committee, the Citizens Political Action Committee?

Mr. LOTH. I don't know. As I say, I met Mr. Baldwin at his home once.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Baldwin's home or Mr. Poynter's home?

Mr. LOTH. At Mr. Poynter's home.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many copies of this publication did the Democratic National Committee order?

Mr. LOTH. I don't know. We had nothing to do with the printing of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Didn't you have some agreement as to how many copies they would be permitted to print?

Mr. LOTH. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did they tell you how many they intended to print?

Mr. LOTH. No, they didn't tell me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did they tell anybody else?

Mr. LOTH. Not that I know of. I assume that they themselves knew pretty well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you heard how many they printed?

Mr. LOTH. No, I have not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, a check of the long-distance toll slips of the C. I. O. Political Committee in New York, which the committee has already tabulated, shows that P. A. C. officials have been in communication with Mr. Poynter. By the way, what is Mr. Poynter's title with the company? Is he president?

Mr. LOTH. He is president, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you say you don't know who the incorporators are?

Mr. LOTH. No. I believe they are members of his family. In fact, I think he mentioned that in a little statement that I attached to the material I gave you.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether the Democratic National Committee is now distributing this pamphlet [indicating]?

Mr. LOTH. I don't know, except what I see in the newspapers about it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether copies of this pamphlet were furnished to the Political Action Committee?

Mr. LOTH. I heard that they were, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know how many copies were furnished the Political Action Committee?

Mr. LOTH. No, I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was a quantity of copies, however?

Mr. LOTH. Yes. I assume that it was more than a hundred or so, but I wouldn't have any knowledge on that myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who printed the pamphlet, this particular pamphlet? What printing concern printed it?

Mr. LOTH. I don't know. The committee ordered the printing.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many copies did they give to you?

Mr. LOTH. They sent us thirty or so.

Mr. THOMAS. Who informed you that the C. I. O. Political Action Committee had ordered some of these pamphlets?

Mr. LOTH. I think it was Miss Bessie Wilson of the Democratic National Committee.

Mr. COSTELLO. There is nothing on the pamphlet to indicate that it was not financed by your own organization, is there?

Mr. LOTH. No, there is not, I regret to say. We had simply asked for credit on there when they put it out.

Mr. COSTELLO. It would appear to be a publication of your own organization.

Mr. LOTH. It would certainly look as if we had been the people who published it, who had paid for it, but that is not the case.

Mr. COSTELLO. If a person wanted to get a duplicate copy he would have to write to your organization?

Mr. LOTH. Yes. And a great many people have written, and we have always referred them to the national committee, explaining the situation.

Mr. COSTELLO. Have you prepared a similar amount of material on Mr. Bricker?

Mr. LOTH. We have prepared a much smaller report on Mr. Bricker.

Mr. COSTELLO. Has that been released at all?

Mr. LOTH. Yes, it has been released to our subscribers.

Mr. COSTELLO. Have you prepared a like amount of material on Mr. Truman?

Mr. LOTH. We prepared material on Mr. Truman, about the same amount as on Mr. Bricker.

Mr. COSTELLO. What have you done regarding Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. LOTH. We have not done a special study of his complete record. We felt that most newspapers had enough in their own files.

Mr. COSTELLO. You did not attempt to compile a review of his past record, a review of what he has accomplished?

Mr. LOTH. Except in specific issues. For instance, we reviewed his foreign policy in very much less space than this, perhaps in about 12 or 15 pages, instead of that rather large amount.

Mr. COSTELLO. Have you made these available to anyone outside of your own newspaper clients?

Mr. LOTH. Oh, yes; we have made them available to some—well, I think the Republican Committee asked for it, and several papers that were interested in our service asked for a sample of material, which we sent them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Loth, you certainly know the publishing house which published this. Could you give the name of the company that actually published this pamphlet?

Mr. LOTH. That actually did the printing?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. LOTH. I am very sorry, but I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. This states "Published by the Press Research. Copyrighted July 1944." You are the managing editor.

Mr. LOTH. That is right, but we simply told the Democratic Committee that they could reproduce it, giving us credit, and that is the form their credit took. We didn't see it until after it was done because they said they were going to reproduce by photo process. There couldn't be much editing in that case. And it was done through the committee. The committee got the printer and gave him the material, and when we got our copies they were sent over to us from the committee. They sent over 30 or 40 copies.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have no idea of the total number of copies printed?

Mr. LOTH. No, I do not. I wouldn't know whether it was several hundred or several thousand.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. THOMAS. What organizations do you belong to?

Mr. LOTH. Well, the National Press Club and the Authors League.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the second one?

Mr. LOTH. The Authors League.

Mr. THOMAS. What other organizations?

Mr. LOTH. That's all.

Mr. THOMAS. No other civic organizations?

Mr. LOTH. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. That's all.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Eberharter.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Loth, as I understand, this service was available to any person, individual, corporation, or group without subscription?

Mr. LOTH. Of course, for subscribers we want only newspapers and magazines as a media of information, but we have, as a matter of promotion, been making some of these things available to people who have asked for them, so that we get our name and service better known. But as a commercial proposition we are selling the service only to media of information, newspapers, magazines, and we have hopes of radio commentators as we get going further.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Suppose an organization or individual wants to make research on, say, State-wide candidates, would you feel that that was within your ordinary line of business, and would you get it out for a consideration?

Mr. LOTH. No, at this time we would not be able to do that. I have hopes that we will be able to accept assignments from our subscribers if we can develop a larger staff, but in any case we would not accept assignments from people other than regular subscribers. It would not be a sound commercial proposition from our point of view.

Mr. EBERHARTER. This organization, then, was just organized for commercial purposes? In other words, it is a financial proposition?

Mr. LOTH. That's right.

Mr. EBERHARTER. To make money?

Mr. LOTH. That's right.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Then these reports or views that you give are necessarily the views of Mr. Poynter or yourself or whatever person writes them?

Mr. LOTH. They are our views; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. They would be the opinion of yourself or Mr. Poynter?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Well, are they the opinions of yourself and Mr. Poynter, then?

Mr. LOTH. In general, where they are not otherwise credited, they are things that we say, ourselves.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Then you and Mr. Poynter subscribe to whatever is in that publication, a special report, say, on Dewey? Is that right?

Mr. LOTH. The otherwise uncredited opinion, yes. For instance, we quote the New York Times or Mr. Dewey himself, or anybody else, and we don't necessarily subscribe, of course, to those opinions.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What I wanted to know is whether everything in that pamphlet was an opinion that you or Mr. Poynter subscribed to.

Mr. LOTH. By no means. They are opinions that we think our member newspapers or subscribing newspapers will be interested in having in the preparation of editorial material.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Just one more question. Is there any obligation on any of the subscribers to use any or all of this material?

Mr. LOTH. None whatever. They use it as they see fit, in the form that they see fit.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Do they have to give credit to your organization?

Mr. LOTH. No; they do not.

Mr. EBERHARTER. When they use any of this material?

Mr. LOTH. No; that is up to them. Usually they do not.

Mr. EBERHARTER. That's all. Thank you.

Mr. COSTELLO. Those publications are not purely factual matters, but they also contain the opinion of the researchers as they find them?

Mr. LOTH. We attempt to interpret the factual material.

Mr. COSTELLO. And there is quite a possibility of considerable bias in some of the research material that you send out as the result of that?

Mr. LOTH. That is an editorial bias that I dare say is present—I know of no publication that hasn't got it and no service that hasn't got it.

Mr. COSTELLO. With purely research material you anticipate getting the pro and con, giving the viewpoint of both sides. You do not give the quotation, but you also express comment on it?

Mr. LOTH. That is right. We are not purely a research organization. We are more of a feature and background organization.

Mr. STRIPLING. In the political field?

Mr. LOTH. In the news field, giving the background of the news. We don't confine ourselves to political issues by any means.

Mr. STRIPLING. The material which you have compiled concerning Mr. Dewey is strictly political?

Mr. LOTH. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. You assisted in the writing of that material, didn't you?

Mr. LOTH. I edited it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are also a consultant for an agency of the Government?

Mr. LOTH. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with section 9 (a) of the Hatch Act?

Mr. LOTH. Not by number.

Mr. STRIPLING. Which prohibits any Government employee or consultant from engaging in political activities or managing them?

Mr. LOTH. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Has the Office of Inter-American Affairs consulted with you as to whether or not you might possibly be violating this section of the Hatch Act in engaging in political activity while being on the Government pay roll?

Mr. LOTH. I requested a legal opinion on that, and I was told that consultants serving at rather nominal rates, and very seldom, were

not bound by the Hatch Act, although the man I consulted said that the point was not absolutely settled legally, but that in his opinion the act did not apply to consultants except during the period when they were actually working for the Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. How are you carried on the rolls now? Are you on leave of absence or were your services terminated outright?

Mr. LOTH. No; I was transferred to a consultant capacity.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you on the rolls now in a consultant capacity?

Mr. LOTH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you go with Press Research?

Mr. LOTH. May 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. But the question did arise in your mind as to whether you might be violating the Hatch Act?

Mr. LOTH. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were engaged in political activity to the extent that there was a question in your own mind about it?

Mr. LOTH. That's right. And I wanted to resolve it. I had suggested that I resign, and my immediate superior suggested that he would be possible for me to remain as a consultant and continue carrying through one or two of the programs that I was familiar with, that my successors would find it difficult to handle, and they wanted me to come over from time to time and see that those programs were going along all right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether any other members of the staff of Press Research have been employed in the Government in the past 2 years?

Mr. LOTH. Oh, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many of the people did that? Will you detail to the committee?

Mr. LOTH. Mr. Patch has been with the Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was he employed?

Mr. LOTH. He was in the Office of Defense Transportation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know what his position there was?

Mr. LOTH. I believe he was either—I think he was Chief or Assistant Chief of Information.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did he resign from the Office of Defense Transportation?

Mr. LOTH. Over a year ago.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who else in that agency?

Mr. LOTH. Miss Kingsbury is one. She worked in Foreign Economics Administration and resigned shortly before she joined the staff of Press Research. Mrs. Lindsay was a typist for the Veterans' Administration. Mr. Poynter himself was with the Office of War Information, I think not within the last 2 years.

Mr. THOMAS. It looks like the whole staff was with the Government.

Mr. LOTH. Most of us have had Government experience, particularly the researchers.

Mr. THOMAS. You were all with the Government up to or just prior to the time you started this organization?

Mr. LOTH. No. Mrs. Dannenburg was also with the Office of War Information. That is true of all but two.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was there anyone in there that had not worked for the Government?

Mr. LOTH. I don't think Mrs. Goodman worked for the Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is Mrs. Goodman's job?

Mr. LOTH. Secretary.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Mr. Poynter on leave absolutely from the Office of War Information, or is he also a consultant?

Mr. LOTH. No; I think he resigned quite some time ago, considerably more than a year ago.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was his position with the Office of War Information?

Mr. LOTH. He was representing them in connection with the moving picture industry on the West coast. That is the last work he was doing.

Mr. THOMAS. Apparently the aim of this organization was to help the New Deal administration, but by making some bad slips in this pamphlet you have done it more harm than good. It will probably go out of business pretty soon.

Mr. LOTH. Well, I hope not. Our subscriptions indicate that we will not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say Helen Goodman is secretary of your organization?

Mr. LOTH. She is secretary to the various members of the staff. She acts as secretary to me and to Mr. Poynter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you positive that she has not been employed by the Government?

Mr. LOTH. I am pretty sure. I am not positive; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is her background, according to your knowledge?

Mr. LOTH. She was hired by Mr. Poynter, and I am not very familiar with her background.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything at all about her background, where she worked previously?

Mr. LOTH. No; I do not. I suppose it is in the files, but I have never looked it up.

Mr. MATTHEWS. She is simply a stenographer?

Mr. LOTH. Yes; and she keeps some parts of the books that are kept up here. I don't know just how much that is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever connected with the Federated Press?

Mr. LOTH. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Does the Federated Press subscribe to your service?

Mr. LOTH. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you name for the committee the labor papers that are subscribers?

Mr. LOTH. Yes; the Advance.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That represents the views of the Garment Workers Union.

Mr. LOTH. And the Shipyard Workers?

Mr. MATTHEWS. What views does that have?

Mr. LOTH. The Shipyard Workers Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Marine Shipbuilders Union of America?

Mr. LOTH. I think that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Headed by John Green, vice president of the C. I. O.?

Mr. LOTH. I am pretty sure it is. I am not absolutely sure. I believe Justice is a subscriber, which is the paper of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and I am not certain about the can-

nery workers. I know that they were interested, and I really don't know whether they subscribed or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that Donald Henderson is head of that, don't you?

Mr. LOTH. No; I don't know the head of it. Our own correspondence, of which I saw very little, was with the editor of the paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who he was?

Mr. LOTH. Donald Henderson?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; the editor of the paper.

Mr. LOTH. No; I don't remember the name. I didn't carry on that correspondence myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are there any other labor papers?

Mr. LOTH. I think not. I will send you the complete list that you asked for. I am not absolutely certain of my memory on some of these things, because we have had correspondence with a great many papers, and I may have gotten one or two of them mixed up, the ones that subscribed and the ones that did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is the Political Action Committee a subscriber?

Mr. LOTH. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you send copies of the weekly releases to the Political Action Committee or anyone connected with the Political Action Committee?

Mr. LOTH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Even though they are not subscribers?

Mr. LOTH. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Wouldn't there ordinarily be objection on the part of the subscribers if they are paying you \$1,000 a week for the material, to give it gratuitously to other publications or organizations?

Mr. LOTH. No; they are interested—several of them are very much interested in having our service more widely bought. Perhaps we could then get the rates down, if we had more subscribers, and they feel, as I do, that there is a considerable potential market for such a service among the labor weeklies.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think the subscribers would be willing for you to send it to the Chicago Tribune?

Mr. LOTH. Not for nothing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, you give it to the Political Action Committee for nothing.

Mr. LOTH. Yes, but the Chicago Tribune could make use of it as fast as our subscriber papers do; the Political Action Committee cannot.

Mr. STRIPLING. They have publications.

Mr. LOTH. Yes, but by the time it gets up to them and they send it around to their weekly publications they would not compete with our principal subscribers, who are dailies; whereas a competitive daily paper would naturally resent it.

Mr. COSTELLO. Are the rates for the service uniform to all subscribers?

Mr. LOTH. On the basis of circulation: yes.

Mr. COSTELLO. You determine the charge to the paper by the circulation of the paper?

Mr. LOTH. That's right. Naturally, the larger papers pay more and the smaller papers less, but in the same proportion.

Mr. COSTELLO. How are you employed by the organization? Do you have a contract with the group or are you on a monthly basis?

Mr. LOTH. Well, merely on a verbal understanding between myself and Mr. Poynter.

Mr. COSTELLO. Are you to remain with them permanently?

Mr. LOTH. Well, if it doesn't succeed, there won't be anything to remain with.

Mr. COSTELLO. You are not there just for a temporary period while the organization is being formed?

Mr. LOTH. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. You intend it to be a permanent assignment?

Mr. LOTH. That's right.

Mr. COSTELLO. Provided it is successful?

Mr. LOTH. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What was your position with the Government?

Mr. LOTH. At the end of my service I was Chief of the Publication Section of the Office of Inter-American Affairs.

Mr. THOMAS. What salary did you get from the Government?

Mr. LOTH. \$6,500.

Mr. THOMAS. What is your present position with the Government as consultant?

Mr. LOTH. Well, just that, consultant.

Mr. THOMAS. What is your pay as a consultant?

Mr. LOTH. It is worked out, they informed me, on the basis of a per diem based on that \$6,500.

Mr. THOMAS. How much pay have you drawn as consultant?

Mr. LOTH. It has been a little over \$100 since last May 15.

Mr. THOMAS. And you got that \$100 when?

Mr. LOTH. About 6 weeks ago or a month ago.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that for?

Mr. LOTH. For time actually spent in working in the Office of Inter-American Affairs.

Mr. THOMAS. How much time did you spend?

Mr. LOTH. I suppose a total of about 6 or 7 days, usually about half a day at a time.

Mr. THOMAS. And the time was spent on what subject?

Mr. LOTH. Well, it was partly in editorial board meetings of the magazine which the coordinator's office published and which I was sort of supervising editor of when I was on the staff, and for the couple of meetings at which they discussed matters they asked me to come and sit in on them—they used to take quite a while—until the other people were familiar with what I had been doing. Also there were several pamphlets which I had arranged for, and they wanted me to check the dummies and the art work, and so on.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like to state for the record that the committee communicated with Dun & Bradstreet in Washington and asked them if they had any information on Press Research. They advised us that they interviewed Mr. Poynter on June 9, 1944, and he declined to give any information concerning the organization, refused to state the plan on which they operate, or give the names of any of the officers.

I suggest that the committee investigate to determine who the officers and incorporators of the organization are, because Mr. Loth here, who is one of the founders of the organization, apparently—managing editor—doesn't seem to know who the incorporators or officers are.

Mr. LoTH. May I suggest that in the statement which I handed you is an announcement by Mr. Poynter, a release in which he, I believe, states that the incorporators are all members of his family.

Mr. Costello. It is owned exclusively by Mr. Poynter and his family?

Mr. LoTH. That's right.

Mr. Costello. Have you ever been a member of any Spanish organization since you returned to this country from Spain?

Mr. LoTH. No.

Mr. Costello. Aside from this article that appeared in New Masses, have you written any articles for Communist publications?

Mr. LoTH. No; only to the extent of writing this one article, which was actually written at the request of the Atlantic Monthly but finally found its way into New Masses.

Mr. Costello. Upon receipt of the article did the Atlantic Monthly refuse to publish it?

Mr. LoTH. Yes.

Mr. Costello. And New Masses accepted it?

Mr. LoTH. That is right.

Mr. Matthews. I did not quite hear that question and answer. Did you send the article to New Masses yourself without solicitation from them?

Mr. LoTH. No; they asked for it.

Mr. Matthews. Who in New Masses asked for it?

Mr. LoTH. The man who was then managing editor, Herman Michaelson. I think he was managing editor.

Mr. Matthews. At any rate, he was an official of the New Masses?

Mr. LoTH. That's right.

Mr. Matthews. He asked you for the article?

Mr. LoTH. That's right.

Mr. Matthews. Do you know Herman Michaelson?

Mr. LoTH. Yes; he had been a colleague of mine on the New York World for some years, and I happened to meet him and we talked about it.

Mr. Matthews. Did you know him as a Communist? Did you know him to be a Communist?

Mr. LoTH. I assumed he was a Communist, since he was working for the New Masses.

Mr. Matthews. He was working for a Communist publication?

Mr. LoTH. That's right.

Mr. Stripling. Did you have any objection to your article appearing in a Communist publication, one of the official organs of the Communist Party?

Mr. LoTH. Not specially. I would not have any objection to it appearing in there. After all, I have written for papers of all political complexions. I think my chief interest in writing is to get myself read.

Mr. Matthews. What did New Masses pay you for the article?

Mr. LOTH. Nothing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You donated that much to the Communist cause?

Mr. LOTH. That's right. Well, I don't say it was donated to the Communist cause. I would like to take that back. I didn't think the New Masses would pay enough to make it worth while.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. COSTELLO. That will be all, Mr. Loth. You are released from further attendance before the committee in answer to the subpoena served upon you.

We had anticipated calling Dr. Matthews this morning, but due to the lateness of the hour we will not call him until tomorrow morning.

The committee will stand adjourned until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 10:30 a. m. Thursday, October 5, 1944.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1944

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. John M. Costello presiding.

Present: Hon. John M. Costello of California and Hon. J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey.

Also present: Hon. Herman P. Eberharter, Mr. Robert E. Stripling, and Mr. J. B. Matthews.

Mr. COSTELLO. The committee will be in order. We will resume the hearing from yesterday. Dr. Matthews will give us a statement today.

STATEMENT OF J. B. MATTHEWS, RESEARCH DIRECTOR, SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, you have before you a tabulation of various Communist-front organizations and the names of members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee who have been affiliated with these various fronts. Inasmuch as the list of Communist-front organizations is a very extended one it has been divided into categories, 11 in number.

We have a group of fronts dealing with racial, refugee, and alien questions, marked "Category No. 1"; a list of fronts for defense, support, or honoring of avowed Communists, marked "Category No. 2"; a list of fronts for farmers, consumers, unemployed, and social and economic legislation, marked "Category No. 3"; a list of fronts for legal, defense, and civil rights, marked "Category No. 4"; a list of fronts for professional groups, marked "Category No. 5"; a list of fronts on the Spanish Civil War, marked "Category No. 6"; a list of fronts for support or praise of the Soviet Union, marked "Category No. 7"; a list of fronts on war, peace, and foreign relations, marked "Category No. 8"; a list of fronts for youth and education, marked "Category No. 9"; a list of Communist magazines, books, and other literature, marked "Category No. 10"; and a list of fronts in miscellaneous fields, marked "Category No. 11."

All together there are 245 Communist-front or Communist-controlled organizations named in these 11 categories.

Pages 9 and 10 of the tabulation which you have before you are a chart showing how many different Communist fronts or Communist

organizations the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee have been affiliated with. For example, Louis A. Adamic, the first name on the list, has been affiliated with 3 separate organizations in category 1, 1 organization in category 2, 5 organizations in category 4, 4 organizations in category 5, 3 in category 6, 2 in category 7, 3 in category 8, 1 in category 9, 2 in category 10, and 1 in category 11, making a total of 25 Communist-front organizations with which Louis Adamic has been affiliated.

On this chart you will find that 26 of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee have been affiliated with 10 or more Communist-front organizations; 46 of them have been affiliated with 5 or more Communist-front organizations, and 89 of them have been affiliated with 2 or more Communist-front organizations, leaving, out of a total of 119 who are listed on this chart, 30 whose affiliations have been with only 1 Communist-front organization.

In that connection I should like to say that it is often the case that a man's allegiance to communism is not properly judged by the number of fronts with which he has been connected. A halfway Communist or a 75-percent Communist may be affiliated with 25 Communist-front organizations, whereas an out-and-out Communist may be affiliated with only 1 or 2 or 3 Communist-front organizations. In other words, it is often the case that the more useful a man is as a Communist, the less often his name is put forward in a front organization or in front organizations. So that the matter is not to be judged entirely on a statistical basis, but rather on the nature of his affiliations, and particularly on the nature of the organization with which he is affiliated. We pointed out day before yesterday that 11 of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee were affiliated with the American Peace Mobilization, which was such an out-and-out Communist organization, working in a period when the Communist line was so easily discernible that there could be little doubt that the 11 persons affiliated with it on this list knew they were working for a Communist organization. They were not innocents, duped by some pretentious objective announced by the organization.

The last column, which is marked "Total" on this chart adds up to 842 separate organizations with which the 119 individuals have been affiliated. That is an average affiliation of a little more than 7 for each of the 119 individuals.

Now, you will find that 5 of the persons on this chart have what might be called a perfect score. They have been affiliated with Communist organizations in every category. The categories were not selected with a view to putting 5 or 10 or any other number on such a basis, but it works out that Joseph Curran has a total of 47 affiliations with Communist organizations, covering every category, no matter how you shuffle them.

Langston Hughes, likewise, has a perfect score with 49 affiliations. Dorothy Kenyon, a municipal judge in New York City, also has a perfect score with 20 affiliations, including every category on the chart.

Max Lerner, one of the editors of the newspaper PM, and also a radio broadcaster for Sante Cream Cheese, has a total of 26 affiliations, covering every category listed here.

Paul Robeson is the fifth of the group, who has affiliations in every category, having a total of 34 organizations with which he has been connected.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is obviously impossible to read in detail for this record the memoranda on 119 individuals, but I should like to select a few of them to give some idea of the type of individuals gathered around Mr. Hillman in his National Citizens Political Action Committee.

One of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee is Hiram Motherwell. Hiram Motherwell, you will notice on the chart, has a total of three affiliations with Communist front organizations. Motherwell also was the translator of Benito Mussolini's novel *The Cardinal's Mistress*. I have here a copy of the book, *The Cardinal's Mistress* by Benito Mussolini, translated by Hiram Motherwell, which has a 14-page introduction signed by Motherwell himself. To sum up what Motherwell has to say about Mussolini—and the introduction, of course, will speak for itself—one may say that Motherwell was ecstatic about Mussolini. The terms of praise for Mussolini could hardly be more exaggerated than these written by Motherwell as an introduction to this novel which he translated. I will give you a few samples. This is quoting from Motherwell about Mussolini.

With all his own mental superiority he knows how to stand for the public and the people. This intuitive communion with the feelings of the mob enables him now in his capacity as statesman and head of the government to keep his finger upon the pulse of the nation.

Again, to quote from Motherwell concerning Mussolini:

It is a revelation of personality. This terrific piling up of magnificent words, this prodigal multiplication of metaphors within a single sentence, this passionate hunting out of detail and ever more detail in describing the aspects of a mountain inside or the emotions of a guilty lover, are perhaps minor manifestations of that gargantuan vitality which has finally imposed itself upon all Europe.

Again Motherwell writes the following of Mussolini:

He is a very recreator of Italian prose. The short sentences of his recent style, the blunt words, the shock derived from the rapid succession of hammer-like blows and curiously modern, rhythmic sweep like the long throb of a huge turbine—all those so different from the patterned melody of conventional oratorical and expository Italian prose, have brought a much needed precision and strength to a language which had unjustly been considered all drowsiness and song.

Motherwell wrote this introduction in 1928. At about the same time Motherwell was affiliated with such out-and-out and well-known Communist organizations as the New Theater League, which was the name taken by an organization originally called the League of Workers' Theaters, the American branch of which was completely under the control of Communists, and whose international headquarters were in Moscow, known as the International Union of Revolutionary Theaters.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to make an observation here off the record.
(After discussion off the record.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not profess to be an expert on book reviews, but the title of the book itself reflects the general content of the novel, namely, a rather bold attack upon the Catholic clergy.

I started to say that to some it may seem inconsistent that a man can play both sides of the totalitarian street. That is not an extraordinary as some might think. The totalitarian mind very often shifts easily from red totalitarianism to brown totalitarianism and back again. We have a number of instances in which that has been true.

Motherwell is a member of Hillman's National Citizens Political Action Committee.

Another name on the National Citizens Political Action Committee is that of John D. Butkovich. Butkovich is also known as Ivan Butkovich, the Russian equivalent of the English name "John". Butkovich has quite a Communist record, and at the same time a record of support for Nazis. Butkovich was charged with having aided, financially and otherwise by propaganda the pro-Nazi Quisling in Yugoslavia, Ante Pavelich. Butkovich sued the men who made the charges against him, in a Pittsburgh court, and lost his suit. The jury was satisfied that the allegations were substantially correct, and ordered Butkovich himself to pay the cost of the suit. That is a lengthy record, and I ask permission to include it along with the various memoranda on these 119 persons.

Mr. COSTELLO. Without objection, that will be done.

(The document referred to is on file with the committee.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Pavelich's pro-Nazi organ published in the United States, prior to the entry of the United States into the war, was published by Butkovich who at the same time—and if you will remember, that was the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact—at the same time was affiliated with such Communist organizations as the American League for Peace and Democracy, and various others.

In this connection we have a front organization known as the American Slav Congress, with which 11 members of Mr. Hillman's National Citizens Political Action Committee are affiliated. The American Slav Congress is a contemporary Communist front which held its most recent annual convention in Pittsburgh on September 23, 1944.

Leo Krzycki is the president of the American Slav Congress. Other members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee who are affiliated with the American Slav Congress include J. J. Zmrhal, Stephen Zeman, Jr., Zlatko Balokovic, John D. Butkovich, and Peter Ratica.

Another matter about the American Slav Congress is that its executive secretary, George Pirinsky, has for many years been openly a Communist. That is a situation which is often true of Communist fronts. The president himself may not be an avowed Communist; the executive secretary often is. Being a little closer to the operations of the front, the party trusts the running of the front to one of its own members. Pirinsky is executive secretary.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Under what category do you have the American Slav Congress?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under the first category, fronts dealing with racial, refugee, and alien questions. I think you will find it there on the first page, about the sixth or seventh organization.

Now, a man behind the scenes, who has a good deal to say about the running of the American Slav Congress, is one Tony Minerich or Anthony Minerich. The name is variously spelled M-i-n-e-r-i-c-h, M-a-i-n-a-r-i-c-h, and one or two other variations of the name. Tony Minerich was the national executive secretary of the Young Communist League. He is one of the oldest Communists in America. He was a delegate to the tenth national convention of the Communist Party. He has been an avowed Communist for approximately 20 years. At the Biltmore Hotel in August of this year the leaders of the American

Slav Congress were called together by Tony Minerich. They were addressed by Sidney Hillman. At the conclusion of Mr. Hillman's address Tony Minerich personally took the floor and made a motion that the American Slav Congress and the leaders of these various Slav front organizations affiliate with the National Citizens Political Action Committee. Minerich's motion was passed unanimously. It is hardly thinkable that so prominent a Communist as Tony Minerich, who was running the meeting at which Hillman spoke, could have escaped Hillman's notice as an avowed Communist.

Mr. COSTELLO. That was in New York?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In New York, at the Hotel Biltmore, in August of this year. Minerich ran the meeting, made the motion, and the group unanimously voted to affiliate with the National Citizens Political Action Committee, which apparently accounts for the fact that 11 of the 141 members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee are from this Slav group.

The committee has in its possession copies of cablegrams from Moscow to various individuals and publications in the United States, which indicate that the American Slav Congress and its affiliated bodies are in some kind of a working relationship with a parent body in Moscow, also known as a "Slav Congress"—the "Allslav Congress of Moscow."

To give you some idea of the familiar Communist line, I cite the call for the second American Slav Congress, held in Pittsburgh, September 23-24, 1944, in which you have the following:

The coming American elections are part of the struggle against Hitler and Tojo. Our domestic battle against fascism must be won at the polls next November. The nomination and election of the President in November has become the paramount necessity for the American people and the rest of the world.

Those familiar with the Communist Party line will see at once that the charge that all those who vote against the President are in some way linked with Hitler and Tojo is the familiar Communist line, and that, of course, is the plain statement of this call on which the names of 11 members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee appear. In other words, the program of the Communists, as expressed in most of the front organizations at the present time, is a program of hate and division, as was brought out yesterday by the testimony of David Loth, a deliberate effort to set Americans against Americans by charging that something approximating one-half of the population is in league with Hitler and Tojo, and represents a fascist movement in the United States which must be defeated at the polls.

Among the various Communist front organizations and publications which are at present not dormant but actively associated with the Political Action Committee, I cite the following: The American Labor Party, captured by the Communists under the leadership of Hillman during the past spring, and pretty generally recognized as having been captured by the Communists under Hillman's leadership; The American Slav Congress, the American Youth for Democracy. Just as the Communist Party dissolved and went underground and reappeared as the Communist Political Association, so the Young Communist League last October formally dissolved itself, went underground and re-appeared with the name "American Youth For Democracy." A number of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Com-

mittee are sponsors of the American Youth For Democracy at the present time.

The Communist, which is the official organ of the Communist Political Association, formerly of the Communist Party, the Communist Political Association itself, the Daily Worker, Fraternal Outlook, Hollywood Democratic Committee—which, as has been pointed out in these hearings, is not in any way affiliated with the Democratic Party, but is a group largely run by and for Communists in California—the paper In Fact, published and edited by George Seldes, the Independent Voters' Committee of the Arts and Sciences, International Workers' Order, the Negro Labor Victory Council, the New Masses, the People's World (the Communist Party newspaper on the west coast), Southern Council for Human Welfare, the magazine Spotlight of the American Youth for Democracy, and the Union for Democratic Action—all of these publications and organizations are now in existence and all are working closely with the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

In other words, you have, Mr. Chairman, not only an interlocking personnel, but also a group of interlocking organizations associated with the National Citizens Political Action Committee, and tending to confirm the conclusion that the National Citizens Political Action Committee is in itself a Communist front organization, or the Major Communist front organization at the present time.

I will take up the record of Langston Hughes. Langston Hughes is a member of the National Citizens Political Action Committee and an avowed Communist. He has been a leading member of the Communist Party in this country for approximately 20 years. His name is so well known that there can be no doubt whatever that Mr. Hillman is acquainted with him, if not personally, certainly by reputation, and must know him as an avowed Communist. Hughes is a well-known poet. A fair sample of his poetry may be found in a verse entitled "The Worker's Song," which reads as follows:

Put one more S in the U. S. A.
To make it Soviet.
The U. S. A. when we take control
Will be the U. S. S. A. then.

Another of Langston Hughes' poems reads as follows:

Good morning, Revolution,
You are the very best friend I ever had.
We are going to pal around together from now on.

That is printed in four lines to make it look like a poem, even though it may not read like a poem.

Finally, here is another sample of Langston Hughes' so-called poetry, which gives some idea of the character of some of the men and women around Hillman:

Good bye, Christ Jesus,
Lord, God, Jehovah
Beat it on the way from here
Make way for a new guy with no religion at all,
A real guy named "Marx Communist, Lenin Peasant,
Stalin worker, me"
I said "Me." Go on ahead now. You are getting
In the way of things, Lord,
And step on the gas, Christ.
Move, and don't be so slow about moving.
The world is mine from now on.

Mr. THOMAS. When did Mr. Hughes write that stuff?

Mr. MATTHEWS. These samples come from his poetry during the past 15 or 16 years. He has written a number of volumes of poetry beginning, I think the first was published in 1928. Most of—in fact, all of these have appeared in Communist publications, such as the Daily Worker and New Masses.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you going to tell the committee what he has been doing in the last few years?

Mr. MATTHEWS. His occupation, so far as I know, is that of a writer. He has written novels as well as poetry, and again, as I say, he makes his living as a writer. He is still an avowed Communist, a member of the Communist Party of public record as late as the beginning of the present year, and presumably was transferred to the Communist Political Association with all the other members of the Communist Party when the party went underground.

There follows a tabulation of Langston Hughes' affiliation with 49 Communist and Communist front organizations and publications.

Mr. THOMAS. What is your opinion as to why Mr. Hillman has selected a man like this for director of this N. C. P. A. C.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. To deal directly in the realm of opinion, I would presume that Mr. Hillman didn't draw up the list himself personally, and that the list of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee was probably submitted to him by some commissar or other of the Communist Party. There are a number of people on the National Citizens Political Action Committee in a position to do that. Joseph Curran might very well do it—and this is all in the realm of conjecture, but it is a problem which has to be confronted—Curran certainly is trusted enough by the party to present a list acceptable to the party to Mr. Hillman, and have it accepted. Certainly that was done in the case of the capture of the American Labor Party in New York. There there were direct negotiations between the party and Mr. Hillman. The party presented its slate and it was accepted by Mr. Hillman. That is a matter of public record. It would appear that the same was done in the case of the personnel of the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

Paul Robeson, the noted singer, is also a member of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, and while not a publicly avowed card-holding member of the party, is on record as being a Communist quite as fully as Langston Hughes. In the magazine Soviet Russia Today Paul Robeson, in 1936, wrote that he had traveled almost around the globe and had lived in England, the United States, and Soviet Russia, and that for the future, so far as he, his wife, and his son were concerned, their homeland was the Soviet Union. In the same article he stated categorically that communism was the only way. There is a vast deal of evidence to show that Paul Robeson has gone publicly on record as being a Communist in the sense that he favors communism, even though he may not have in his possession a party membership card.

Roscoe Dunjee, editor of a newspaper in Oklahoma City, is a member of Mr. Hillman's National Citizens Political Action Committee. In March of this year Dunjee contributed an article to the New Masses, Communist weekly, in which he said, among other things:

I have had considerable knowledge of the work of the Communist Party in the State of Oklahoma, and I know of no program or effort on the part of the

Oklahoma leaders of that organization that in the remotest way indicates a spirit of violence and lawlessness.

That statement, of course, is in sharp contrast with the Attorney General's statement which I read on Tuesday, to the effect that:

The Communist Party of the U. S. A., from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

Quoting from the same articles in *New Masses*, by Roscoe Dunjee, we have the following:

As president of the State conference of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I have every year for the past 10 invited the Communists to address our meeting. Allen Shaw, secretary of the Communist Party of Oklahoma, addressed our State conference at Tulsa last November.

Finally Dunjee made his position even more clear when he wrote in the *New Masses*:

Personally I endorse the idea of an international state as espoused by the Communist Party.

Perhaps it should be noted at this point that the idea of the international state as espoused by communism is a world union of Socialist soviet republics, and since Dunjee claims to have considerable familiarity with the Communist Party, he undoubtedly knows that that is its idea of an international state.

Mr. Louis Adamic is a member of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, with a long Communist record, showing affiliation with 25 front organizations. Some years ago the secretariat of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, with headquarters in Moscow, wrote Adamic for an expression of his views on Russia and the United States. Adamic's reply was republished in the *Daily Worker* of September 22, 1934, page 7. With respect to the Soviet Union Adamic wrote:

The ideas, principles, and methods which are the basis of the Soviet Union doubtless are the highest promise and hope that humanity has today.

On the subject of the United States Adamic had the following to say to the International Union of Revolutionary Writers:

And, of course, there is the New Deal in the United States, with its imperialism, that will bring on a new world war, which I expect will end in a world revolution, in the sovietization of all the countries.

That was September 22, 1934. It was published in the *Daily Worker* on page 7.

To come down to something much more recent, in Adamic's pro-Communist record we have him writing in his book, *The Natives Return*, the following:

Now I see why the Russian revolution was necessary from the standpoint not only of backward, peasant Russia but of the world at large.

And again in one of his books he wrote:

The story that I present here is, as I see it, a criticism of our American capitalist-democratic civilization. The most severe criticism, it seems to me, that anyone could write. America is at the crossroads, right or left. Eventually it will be left, for in its very nature, which I cannot discuss here, it is a left or revolutionary country.

You may recall, Mr. Chairman, that last year the armed forces of the country had a plan to distribute many thousands of copies of one of Mr. Adamic's books, and I think when it was discovered that it had revolutionary and pro-Communist statements in it, it was withdrawn from circulation to the armed forces.

I will take up one more of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, Lillian Smith. You will find on the chart that Lillian Smith has been affiliated with only three Communist-front organizations, but one of those three was the American Peace Mobilization, at the founding of which she was present in Chicago, and at which time she affiliated herself not only with the American Peace Mobilization but also with the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder in the interest of national unity. Lillian Smith is the author of a recent novel called *Strange Fruit*, which, as is generally known, I think, is a piece of sexual filth dealing almost entirely in miscegenation. Lillian Smith's headquarters are in Georgia, where she is editor of a pro-Communist magazine known as *The South Today*.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it would be possible to give similar accounts of, let us say, half of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, showing how they voluntarily and deliberately are on record as pro-Communists, not simply affiliated with Communist-front organizations as innocents, but having made a public record over these past 10 or 20 years—as long as 20 years in some cases—indicating distinctly that these persons constitute one of the most important groups in the entire Communist movement in the United States during the past 20 years. Take the 119 as a whole, the evidence will show that it is fair to characterize the group as the nucleus of the Communist-front movement in this country during the past decade, and it is for that reason that it seems fair to characterize the National Citizens Political Action Committee as a Communist-front organization, having the ambitious objective of worming the way of the Communists into the Democratic Party.

If you would like details on the records of these individuals, I have here the files showing exactly the kind of affiliation which the individual had with the particular Communist-front organization. In addition to this record, we have memoranda on the 245 organizations with which they have been affiliated, showing why the organization is characterized as a Communist-front organization.

Mr. COSTELLO. Have you prepared a list showing the names of the various Communist-front organizations, and with it the affiliation of each member?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. COSTELLO. Will it be possible to put that in the record, showing all the 842 affiliations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. In fact, it will show some 2,500 affiliations, because in many cases an individual has had more than one affiliation with the same organization, so the record will be complete. For example, it will show that Paul Robeson was not only a national officer of the American Peace Mobilization but was also an outstanding speaker for it on some occasions.

Mr. COSTELLO. You have that complete record, have you?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. You can make it a part of the record?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

(The document referred to follows:)

I. FRONTS DEALING WITH RACIAL, REFUGEE, AND ALIEN QUESTIONS

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

All-Harlem Youth Conference	National Committee To Aid the Victims of German Fascism
American Committee for Anti-Nazi German Seamen	National Negro Congress
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born	National Negro Women's Council
American Committee to Save Refugees	National Scottsboro Committee of Action
American Croatian Congress	Negro Cultural Committee
American Slav Congress	Negro Labor Victory Committee
Chicago Conference on Race Relations	Negro Playwrights Company
Cripus Attucks Community Council	Non-Sectarian Committee for Political Refugees
First Congress of the Mexican and Spanish Peoples of the United States	Slovene National Congress
International Committee on African Affairs	South Side Committee for Racial Unity
Jewish Peoples Committee	Southern Negro Youth Congress
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee	United Aid for Peoples of African Descent
Marian Anderson Citizens Committee	United Committee of South Slavic Americans

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 3	McConnell, Francis J., 2
Balokovic, Zlatko, 5	McWilliams, Carey, 1
Benet, William Rose, 1	Murray, Philip, 2
Benson, Elmer, 3	Neilson, William A., 3
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 4	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 2
Boas, Ernest P., 1	Platek, V. X., 1
Bowie, W. Russell, 1	Popper, Martin, 1
Bunzick, Zakro, 1	Quilici, George L., 1
Butkovich, John D., 1	Ratica, Peter, 1
Carey, James B., 1	Robeson, Paul, 4
Corrothers, Sylvester L., 2	Robinson, Edward G., 1
Curran, Joseph, 6	Robinson, Reid, 2
Embree, Edwin R., 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 1
Frazier, E. Franklin, 2	Smith, S. Stephenson, 1
Green, John, 2	Soule, George, 2
Gutknecht, John, 3	Steele, Julian D., 1
Hecht, Ben, 1	Thomas, R. J., 1
Hillman, Sidney, 2	Tobias, Channing H., 4
Hughes, Langston, 5	Van Kleeck, Mary, 2
Kenyon, Dorothy, 1	Walsh, J. Raymond, 1
Krsycki, Leo, 1	Weaver, Robert C., 2
Lange, Oscar, 1	Welles, Orson, 3
Lapp, John A., 1	Wise, James Waterman, 3
Lerner, Max, 2	Zeman, Stephen, Jr., 1
Lewis, Alfred Baker, 1	

II. FRONTS FOR DEFENSE, SUPPORT, OR HONORING OF AVOWED COMMUNISTS

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

Appeal for Lawrence Simpson	Communist Party
Appeal for Pardon of German Communist	Communist Party, Statement Defending
Ben Leider Memorial Fund	Gerson Supporters
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder	Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights
Citizens' Nonpartisan Committee to Elect Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., to the City Council	Julius Rosenthal Memorial Committee
Committee of Professional Groups for Browder and Ford	League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford
	Mother Bloor Banquet
	New Masses Letter to the President

II. FRONTS FOR DEFENSE, SUPPORT, OR HONORING OF AVOWED COMMUNISTS—
Continued

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT—continued

Open Letter Protesting Ban on Communists in the American Civil Liberties Union	Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee
Prestes Defense	Statement by Negro Leaders Protesting Attacks Against Communist Candidates
Protest Against Ban on Browder	Statement Urging Ballot Rights for Communists
Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee	Washington Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder
Schappes Defense Committee	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 1	Lapp, John A., 1
Balokovic, Zlatko, 2	Lerner, Max, 4
Benet, William Rose, 2	Lewis, William Draper, 1
Bittner, Van A., 1	McConnell, Francis J., 3
Bliven, Bruce, 4	McWilliams, Carey, 3
Carey, James B., 1	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 1
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1	Robeson, Paul, 6
Curran, Joseph, 4	Robinson, Reid, 2
Dombrowski, James, 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 1
Epstein, Henry, 3	Soule, George, 3
Frazier, E. Franklin, 1	Thomas, R. J., 1
Haywood, Allan S., 2	Tobias, Channing H., 1
Hughes, Langston, 4	Whitney, A. F., 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 1	Wilson, Mrs. Luke I., 1
Kirchwey, Freda, 2	Wise, James Waterman, 3
Krzycki, Leo, 1	

III. FRONTS FOR FARMERS, CONSUMERS, UNEMPLOYED, AND SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC LEGISLATION

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

American Investors Union	National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance
Consumers National Federation	National Council to Aid Agricultural Labor
Consumers Union	National Farmers Union
Daughters of the American Depression	National Right-To-Work Congress
Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America	New York State Conference on National Unity
International Workers Order	Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance	Trade Union Committee on Industrial Espionage
Joint Committee of Trade Unions in Social Work	Trade Union Committee on Unemployment
League of Women Shoppers	Wisconsin State Conference on Social Legislation
Methodist Federation for Social Service	Workers Alliance of America
Milk Consumers Protective Committee	
National Joint Action Committee for Genuine Social Insurance	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Alexander, Will W., 1	Bittner, Van A., 1
Anderson, Mary, 1	Bliven, Bruce, 1
Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, 1	Carey, James B., 1
Bauer, Catherine, 1	Clyde, Ethel, 2
Benson, Elmer, 1	Curran, Joseph, 2
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 2	Dalrymple, Sherman H., 1

III. FRONTS FOR FARMERS, CONSUMERS, UNEMPLOYED, AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LEGISLATION—Continued

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS—continued

Dombrowski, James A., 1	McGill, James H., 1
Dunjee, Roscoe, 1	McWilliams, Carey, 3
Durr, Mrs. Clifford, 1	Murray, Philip, 1
Epstein, Henry, 1	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 1
Foreman, Clark, 1	Patton, James G., 1
Hastie, William, 1	Perry, Jennings, 1
Haywood, Allan S., 3	Pinchot, Mrs. Gifford, 1
Hollander, Sidney, 1	Reid, Ira, 1
Hughes, Langston, 1	Rieve, Emil 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 3	Robeson, Paul, 1
Kirchwey, Freda, 2	Smith, Lillian, 1
Lapp, John A., 1	Smith, S. Stephenson, 1
Lerner, Max, 2	Soule, George, 1
Mason, Lucy Randolph, 1	Tobias, Channing H., 1
McConnell, Francis J., 3	Van Kleeck, Mary, 4
McCulloch, Frank, 1	Williams, Aubrey, 2

IV. FRONTS FOR LEGAL DEFENSE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

Abolish Peonage Committee	Mooney-Billings Mass Meeting
All-California Conference for the Defense of Civil Liberties and Aid to Labor's Prisoners	Murray Defense Committee
American Committee of Liberals for the Freedom of Mooney and Billings	National Citizens Committee for the Protection of Civil Rights in the Automobile Industry
Bridges Defense Committees	National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners
Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges	National Committee for Peoples' Rights
Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges	National Conference on Civil Liberties
Civil Rights Federation	National Emergency Conference
Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America	National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights
Emergency Defense Conference to Defend Democracy at Home	National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
Galena Defense Committee	National Scottsboro Committee of Action
Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights	New York Tom Mooney Committee
Harry Bridges Defense Committee	Open Letter on Harry Bridges
Harry Bridges Victory Committee	Petition to Grant Pardons to McNamara and Schmidt
International Labor Defense	Scottsboro Defense Committee
Marian Anderson Citizens Committee	
Maryland Association for Democratic Rights	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 5	Carey, James B., 4
Anderson, Mary, 1	Clyde, Ethel, 1
Bauer, Catherine, 1	Connelly, Marc, 2
Benet, William Rose, 3	Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 2
Benson, Elmer, 4	Curran, Joseph, 7
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 4	Dalrymple, Sherman H., 1
Bliven, Bruce, 1	Dombrowski, James, 2
Boas, Ernest P., 1	DuPont, Zara, 3
Bowie, W. Russell, 2	Durr, Mrs. Clifford, 2
Burke, J. Frank, 1	Embree, Edwin R., 1

IV. FRONTS FOR LEGAL DEFENSE AND CIVIL RIGHTS—Continued

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS—continued

Epstein, Henry, 1	Neilson, William A., 2
Foreman, Clark, 1	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 1
Frazier, E. Franklin, 2	Osowski, W. T., 1
Gimbel, Elinor, 1	Pinchot, Gifford, 1
Green, John, 1	Pinchot, Mrs. Gifford, 1
Hastie, William, 3	Reid, Ira, 1
Haywood, Allan S., 2	Robeson, Paul, 2
Hillman, Sidney, 3	Robinson, Reid, 3
Hollander, Sidney, 1	Schlesinger, Arthur M., 2
Hughes, Langston, 4	Soule, George, 2
Kenyon, Dorothy, 4	Thomas, R. J., 1
Kirchwey, Freda, 3	Tobias, Channing H., 3
Lapp, John A., 2	Townsend, Willard, 1
LeCron, James, 1	Van Kleeck, Mary, 2
Lerner, Max, 3	Walsh, J. Raymond, 3
Lewis, John Frederick, 1	Welles, Orson, 1
McConnell, Francis J., 2	Whitney, A. F., 3
McGill, James H., 1	Williams, Aubrey, 1
McWilliams, Carey, 4	Wise, James Waterman, 2
Murray, Philip, 1	

V. FRONTS FOR PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

American Writers Congress	National Committee Against Censor-
Artef	ship of the Theater Arts
Artists' Front To Win the War	National Lawyers Guild
Congress of American Revolutionary	New Dance League
Writers	New Theater League
Federation of Architects, Engineers,	Public Use of Arts Committee
Chemists, and Technicians	Theater Arts Committee
Film Audiences for Democracy	Theater Workshop
Films for Democracy	Third American Writers Congress
Frontier Films	United American Artists
International Juridical Association	Western Writers Congress
League of American Writers	Writers Congress
League of Workers Theaters	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 4	Hughes, Langston, 5
Bauer, Catherine, 1	Kenyon, Dorothy, 3
Benet, William Rose, 4	Kirchwey, Freda, 2
Benson, Elmer, 1	Lee, Canada, 2
Bittner, Van A., 1	Lerner, Max, 2
Bliven, Bruce, 3	McConnell, Francis J., 1
Carey, James B., 1	McCulloch, Frank, 1
Connelly, Marc, 3	McWilliams, Carey, 5
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1	Motherwell, Hiram, 2
Curran, Joseph, 1	Popper, Martin, 1
Eliot, Thomas H., 1	Quilici, George L., 1
Gutknecht, John, 1	Robeson, Paul, 4
Harburg, E. Y., 1	Soule, George, 3
Hastie, William, 1	Walsh, J. Raymond, 1
Hays, Mortimer, 1	Welles, Orson, 4
Haywood, Allan S., 1	Whitney, A. F., 1
Hecht, Ben, 1	Wise, James Waterman, 1

VI. FRONTS ON THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

Abraham Lincoln Brigade	North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
American Friends of Spanish Democracy	Spanish Democracy
American Relief Ship for Spain	North American Spanish Aid Committee
American Rescue Ship Mission	Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo	Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign
Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade	United American Spanish Aid Committee
Joint Lift the Embargo Committee	Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain	Washington Committee to Lift the Embargo
Medical Bureau American Friends of Spanish Democracy	Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy
Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy	Writers and Artists Committee for Medical Aid to Spain
Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 3	McConnell, Francis J., 8
Balokovic, Zlatko, 1	McWilliams, Carey, 2
Benet, William Rose, 3	Neilson, William A., 8
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 3	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 3
Bliven, Bruce, 4	Rieve, Emil, 1
Boas, Ernest P., 3	Robeson, Paul, 7
Bowie, W. Russell, 1	Schlesinger, Arthur M., 2
Carey, James B., 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 2
Connelly, Marc, 1	Smith, S. Stephenson, 1
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 2	Soule, George, 3
Curran, Joseph, 3	Spir, Mercedes P., 1
Frazier, E. Franklin, 1	Swezey, Alan, 2
Gutknecht, John, 1	Tobias, Channing H., 1
Hecht, Ben, 2	Van Kleeck, Mary, 7
Hughes, Langston, 3	Weaver, Robert C., 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 2	Welles, Orson, 2
Kirchwey, Freda, 5	Wesley, Carter, 1
Lerner, Max, 3	Whitney, A. F., 3
Lewis, John Frederick, Jr., 1	Wise, James Waterman, 2

VII. FRONTS FOR SUPPORT OR PRAISE OF THE SOVIET UNION

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

American Council on Soviet Relations	Open Letter for Closer Cooperation With the Soviet Union
American Friends of the Soviet Union	Open Letter to American Liberals
Friends of Soviet Russia	Russian-American Industrial Corporation
Friends of the Soviet Union	Russian Famine Relief Committee
Congress of American-Soviet Friendship	Soviet Russia Today
Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union	Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 2	Embree, Edwin R., 1
Balokovic, Zlatko, 1	Gimbel, Elinor, 1
Benet, William Rose, 2	Green, John, 1
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 1	Hillman, Sidney, 4
Clyde, Ethel, 1	Hughes, Langston, 5
Curran, Joseph, 3	Kenyon, Dorothy, 1
Dalrymple, Sherman H., 1	Krzycki, Leo, 1

VII. FRONTS FOR SUPPORT OR PRAISE OF THE SOVIET UNION—Continued

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS—continued

Lerner, Max, 3	Robinson, Mrs. Edward G., 1
Lewis, John Frederick, Jr., 1	Robinson, Reid, 3
McDonald, David J., 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 2
McGill, James H., 1	Soule, George, 2
McMahon, Francis, 2	Thomas, R. J., 2
McWilliams, Carey, 1	Van Kleeck, Mary, 5
Murray, Philip, 2	Walsh, J. Raymond, 1
Neilson, William A., 1	Welles, Orson, 1
Porter, Katherine Anne, 1	Whitney, A. F., 2
Ricker, A. W., 1	Wise, James Waterman, 4
Robeson, Paul, 2	Zimhal, Jaroslav J., 2
Robinson, Edward G., 1	

VIII. FRONTS ON WAR, PEACE, AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

All-America Anti-Imperialist League	Committee for Peace Through World Cooperation
American Committee for Free Yugoslavia	Conference on Pan-American Democracy
American Committee for Struggle Against War	Council on African Affairs
American Congress for Peace and Democracy	Council for Pan-American Democracy
American Friends of the Chinese People	Emergency Peace Mobilization
American League for Peace and Democracy	National Organizing Committee for First United States Congress Against War
American League Against War and Fascism	New York Peace Association
American Peace Crusade	People's Congress for Peace and Democracy
American Peace Mobilization	San Francisco Coordinating Council for Peace
Amsterdam World Congress Against War	Student Congress Against War
Chicago All-America Anti-Imperialist League	United States Congress Against War
Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War	Washington Peace Mobilization
	World Congress Against War

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 3	Lee, Canada, 1
Anderson, Mary, 1	Lerner, Max, 2
Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, 2	Lochard, Metz T. P., 3
Bauer, Catherine, 1	McConnell, Francis J., 5
Benson, Elmer, 2	McWilliams, Carey, 3
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 1	Motherwell, Hiram, 1
Bittner, Van A., 1	Neilson, William A., 1
Bliven, Bruce, 3	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 3
Boas, Ernest P., 1	Patton, James G., 1
Butkovich, John D., 1	Popper, Martin, 1
Carey, James B., 4	Reid, Ira, 2
Cooke, Morris L., 1	Robeson, Paul, 3
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1	Robinson, Reid, 5
Curran, Joseph, 11	Schuman, Frederick L., 4
Dalrymple, Sherman H., 1	Smith, Lillian, 1
Davis, Michael, 1	Soule, George, 2
Embree, Edwin R., 1	Tobias, Channing H., 1
Hillman, Sidney, 2	Van Kleeck, Mary, 1
Hughes, Langston, 5	Walsh, J. Raymond, 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 1	Whitney, A. F., 2
Kirchwey, Freda, 3	Wise, James Waterman, 3
Lapp, John A., 1	

IX. FRONTS FOR YOUTH AND EDUCATION

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

Abraham Lincoln School	League of Young Southerners
American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom	Memorial Day Youth Peace Parade Committee
American Student Union	Philadelphia Peoples Forum
American Youth Congress	Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art
American Youth for Democracy	Tom Mooney Labor School
California Youth Legislature	United Student Peace Committee
Council of Young Southerners	World Youth Congress
Jefferson School of Social Science	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 1	Kirchwey, Freda, 2
Alexander, Will W., 2	Lerner, Max, 2
Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, 1	Lochard, Metz T. P., 1
Bauer, Catherine, 1	Mason, Lucy Randolph, 1
Benson, Elmer, 1	McAllister, Mrs. Thomas F., 1
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 3	McConnell, Francis J., 1
Bittner, Van A., 1	Murray, Philip, 1
Bliven, Bruce, 2	Neilson, William A., 1
Boas, Ernest P., 1	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 1
Carey, James B., 4	Robeson, Paul, 2
Clyde, Mrs. Ethel, 1	Smith, S. Stephenson, 1
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1	Soule, George, 1
Curran, Joseph, 2	Van Kleeck, Mary, 2
Durr, Mrs. Clifford, 1	Walsh, J. Raymond, 1
Frazier, E. Franklin, 1	Welles, Orson, 1
Hewes, Laurence I., 1	Whitney, A. F., 2
Hughes, Langston, 2	Williams, Aubrey, 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 2	Wise, James Waterman, 4
Kingdon, Frank, 1	

X. COMMUNIST MAGAZINES, BOOKS, AND OTHER LITERATURE

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature	Midwest Daily Record
Anvil	New Masses
Black & White	New Pioneer
Book Union	Partisan
Champion	Science and Society
Daily Worker	Social Work Today
Dynamo	Sunday Worker
Equality	Washington Bookshop
Freiheit	Woman Today
International Publishers	Workers Bookshop
Labor Defender	Workers Library Publishers
Left Book Club	Workers Monthly

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 2	Bliven, Bruce, 1
Anderson, Mary, 1	Carey, James B., 1
Balokovic, Zlatko, 1	Curran, Joseph, 6
Barnes, Verda White, 1	Dunjee, Roscoe, 1
Benet, William Rose, 1	Epstein, Henry, 2
Benson, Elmer, 2	Frazier, E. Franklin, 1
Bittner, Van A., 1	Galbraith, J. Kenneth, 1

X. COMMUNIST MAGAZINES, BOOKS, AND OTHER LITERATURES—Continued

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS—continued

Green, John, 1	McWilliams, Carey, 3
Gutknecht, John, 1	Murray, Philip, 1
Hewes, L. I., 1	Porter, Katherine Anne, 1
Hillman, Sidney, 1	Robeson, Paul 2
Hollander, Sidney, 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 1
Hughes, Langston, 13	Van Kleeck, Mary, 5
Kenyon, Dorothy, 1	Weaver, Robert C., 1
Kirchwey, Freda, 2	Welles, Orson, 2
Lange, Oscar, 1	Whitney, A. F., 2
Lapp, John A., 1	Wilson, Mrs. Luke I., 1
Lerner, Max, 1	Wise, James Waterman, 2

XI. FRONTS IN MISCELLANEOUS FIELD

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

Allied Voters Against Coudert	People's Institute of Applied Religion
American Fund for Public Service	Progressive Committee to Rebuild the
Better Chicago League	American Labor Party
California Committee for Political Unity	Southern Women Statement for the
Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression	Abolition of the Poll Tax
Descendants of the American Revolution	Testimonial Dinner for Ferdinand C. Smith
Garland Fund	United Electrical, Radio, and Machine
League for Mutual Aid	Workers of America
National Peoples Committee Against Hearst	Washington Committee for Aid to China
National Religion and Labor Foundation	Work Camps for America
Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio	Workers Cultural Federation

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 1	Lerner, Max, 2
Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, 1	Lewis, Alfred Baker, 1
Benson, Elmer, 1	Loeb, James, 1
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 1	Mason, Lucy Randolph, 1
Bliven, Bruce, 3	McConnell, Francis J., 2
Burke, J. Frank 2	Mulzac, Hugh, 1
Carey, James B., 1	Niebuhr, Reinhold 2
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1	Pinchot, Mrs. Gifford, 1
Curran, Joseph, 2	Pope, Liston, 1
Dombrowski, James A., 1	Quilici, George L., 1
Durr, Mrs. Clifford, 1	Robeson, Paul, 1
Epstein, Henry, 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 1
Fitzgerald, Albert J., 1	Seiferheld, David F., 1
Gutknecht, John, 1	Smith, Lillian, 1
Haywood, Allan S., 1	Soule, George, 1
Hillman, Sidney, 2	Tilly, Mrs. M. E., 1
Hughes, Langston, 2	Van Kleeck, Mary, 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 1	Whitney, A. F., 1
Kirchwey, Freda, 3	Wise, James Waterman, 1
Lapp, John A., 1	

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	Total
Mason, Lucy Randolph			1						1		1	3
McAllister, Mrs. Thomas F									1			1
McConnell, Francis J	2	3	3	2	1	8		5	1		2	27
McCulloch, Frank			1		1							2
McDonald, David J							1					1
McGill, James H			1	1			1					3
McMahon, Francis							2					2
McWilliams, Carey	1	3	3	4	5	2	1	3		3		25
Motherwell, Hiram					2			1				3
Murray, Philip	2		1	1			2		1	1		8
Mulzac, Hugh											1	1
Neilson, William A	3			2		8	1	1	1			16
Niebuhr, Reinhold	2	1	1	1		3		3	1		2	14
Osowski, W. T		1		1								2
Patton, James G			1					1				2
Perry, Jennings			1									1
Pinchot, Cornelia B			1	1							1	3
Pinchot, Gifford				1								1
Platek, V. X	1											1
Pope, Liston											1	1
Popper, Martin	1				1			1				3
Porter, Katherine Anne							1			1		2
Quilici, George L	1				1						1	3
Ratica, Peter	1											1
Reid, Ira			1	1				2				4
Ricker, A. W							1					1
Rieve, Emil			1			1						2
Robeson, Paul	4	6	1	2	4	7	2	3	2	2	1	34
Robinson, Edward G	1						1					2
Robinson, Mrs. Edward G							1					1
Robinson, Reid	2	2		3			3	5				15
Schlesinger, Arthur M				2		2						4
Schuman, Frederick L	1	1				2	2	4		1	1	12
Seiferheld, David F											1	1
Smith, Lillian			1					1			1	3
Smith, S. Stephenson	1		1			1			1			4
Soule, George	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	2	1		1	20
Speir, Mercedes Powell						1						1
Steele, Julian D	1											1
Sweezy, Alan						2						2
Thomas, R. J	1	1		1			2					5
Tilly, Mrs. M. E											1	1
Tobias, Channing	4	1	1	3		1		1				11
Townsend, Willard				1								1
Van Kleeck, Mary	2		4	2		7	5	1	2	5	1	29
Walsh, J. Raymond	1			3	1		1	1	1			8
Weaver, Robert C	2					1				1		4
Welles, Orson	3			1	4	2	1		1	2		14
Wesley, Carter						1						1
Whitney, A. F		1		3	1	3	2	2	2	2	1	17
Williams, Aubrey			2	1					1			4
Wilson, Mrs. Luke I		1								1		2
Wise, James Waterman	3	3		2	1	2	4	3	4	2	1	25
Zeman, Stephen, Jr	1											1
Zmrhal, Jaroslav J							2					2

Mr. COSTELLO. The committee will have a session at 2 o'clock this afternoon, at which time we will have some additional witnesses.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask the committee to go into executive session at this time.

Mr. COSTELLO. The committee will stand adjourned at this time and will go into executive session. All nonmembers of the committee will kindly leave the room.

(Whereupon, at 11:30 a. m., the subcommittee went into executive session, at the conclusion of which a recess was taken until 2 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

(The subcommittee reassembled at 2 p. m., pursuant to recess.)

Mr. COSTELLO. The committee will be in order. Our first witness this afternoon is Mr. Stripling. Mr. Stripling, will you make your statement regarding Mr. Loth?

STATEMENT OF ROBERT E. STRIPLING, CHIEF INVESTIGATOR, SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, following the hearing of Mr. David Loth yesterday, I communicated with the Director of Personnel for the Office of Inter-American Affairs, and they advised me concerning Mr. Loth's present status. According to their record, he left the agency on May 16 as Chief of Publications at \$6,500 a year. His annual leave carried him from May 16 to July 13 at the same rate of salary.

Mr. COSTELLO. He had accumulated 60 days annual leave?

Mr. STRIPLING. Approximately; yes. He was then transferred to the roll which the personnel officer referred to as "when actually employed basis" at \$18.05 per day. I think the important point for the committee to consider is the fact that Mr. Loth is still on the active roll of the Government agency, and that he is at the same time employed and directing activities of an organization which is certainly engaged in political activity.

Mr. COSTELLO. The record indicates that during the 2 months he took of annual leave and received pay from the Government he was organizing and working for Press Research, Inc.?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. COSTELLO. When he does work for the Federal Government at \$18.05 a day he is still working for Press Research, Inc.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is true.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Stripling, did you check up with the Director of Personnel regarding Government employees who went with the C. I. O. Political Action Committee?

Mr. STRIPLING. We are checking that. Mr. Thomas, to determine how much leave each one had accrued. We do know that in the case of Mr. Baldwin, even though he went with the Political Action Committee on November 22, 1943, he remained on the pay roll of the Farm Security Administration at \$10,000 a year up until April 11, 1944, which is far beyond the legal limit allowed for leave of any kind by the civil-service regulations.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Stripling, you remember one day we took action here along the line of turning over certain cases to the Department of Justice. Was that one of the cases?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. COSTELLO. Is that all you have, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. COSTELLO. Would you call the next witness?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, the next witness is Mr. Blumenfield.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH BLUMENFIELD, BALTIMORE, MD.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Costello.)

Mr. COSTELLO. Will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Joseph Blumenfield, 3838 8th Street, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. In Baltimore.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you lived in Baltimore all your life?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Practically, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your occupation?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. At the present time, machinist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you always been a machinist in your adult life?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What various careers have you followed?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, I came from Sparrows Point to the Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyard. I worked there in the pipe mill as a pipe threader. Prior to that I worked at the Baltimore Paint & Color Works as a machine operator.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are employed now at the Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyard in Baltimore?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. About 3 years at that yard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your position there?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Machinist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you a member of Local 43 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you at all active in the organization of that union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give the details of your activity in that connection?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, when coming to the shipyard there I noticed that the yard was in a state of organization by the C. I. O., and having been active in the C. I. O. in organizing at Sparrows Point, and knowing quite a few other people that were organizing Fairfield, they asked me to help them along and, of course, I went along with them. After a time I was made shop steward for the outside ma-

chinists department. Then I was elected a member of the grievance committee, and also secretary of the victory production committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, you held two positions in the union and were active in the formation of the union in the beginning?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Approximately how many members are there in local 43 at the Bethlehem-Fairfield Shipyard?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. At the present time I would say approximately 15,000 members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does the union have a contract?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there a maintenance of membership clause in the union contract?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you at all active in the obtaining of the contract with the company?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what capacity?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Of course, the most important thing in the minds of any union is to get a contract to protect its members and working along those lines, of course, with many other in the local, we formulated a contract, helped to draw it up in many instances, and voted on various phases of the contract.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you a whole-hearted believer in the union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the plant?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you did your best to make it a successful union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, in the course of the development of the affairs of the union during these past 3 years since your employment at Bethlehem-Fairfield, did you notice that the union went in for political action?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, I suppose that perhaps most of the difficulty in local 43 at this time is because of the fact that the communistic element was injected into our union meetings, and also because of the fact that a lot of our union funds were being used up for political action.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give a brief statement of the facts concerning (1) the Communist control of your local and (2) the political activities of your local?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, I would say first that when the communistic element showed up, while the union was in a state of organization we felt that there were Communists working to organize the local, but we also felt that as long as they confined their communistic activities among themselves, no one objected to it, but when they began to inject it into our local, we didn't care about that, and we began to fight communism within our local. However, we were not very successful, because of the fact that most of our meetings would be broken up by one means or another. Either some great orator, who was perhaps a Communist, if we had a majority at the meeting, would get up and make a long speech about something that didn't mean anything, and most of the rank-and-file members would get up and

walk out of the hall. Of course, the communistic element remained, and when they had the majority they would go ahead and pass any bills that they wanted to. Of course, we continued to fight over a period of 2 years, until the fight became almost hopeless, at which time a group of 44 men resigned from the union in disgust.

Getting back to the political action part of it, along about September of 1943—I have here in the Yardbird of September 18 the C. I. O. regional political offices to be set up.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Fairfield Yardbird was the official organ of local 43, was it?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this article refers to Chairman Sidney Hillman of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, who announced that the regional office would be set up for Maryland and the District of Columbia and Delaware; is that right?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who the director was for that region of the Political Action Committee?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, at that time we had no director, but soon after that a director was appointed, a chap by the name of Tom Conner, who came into the yard in September, and in about—well, within 30 or 40 days he was made director of this Political Action Committee. We didn't like that because of the fact that the union's bylaws definitely states that no man can hold office unless he has been a member in good standing for 6 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you are positive that Conner was appointed director of the Political Action Committee of Local 43?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before he had been employed at Bethlehem-Fairfield, for a period of 6 months, which is stipulated by the constitution?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. As I stated before, he came into the yard in September, and in October, I think—we have a paper here somewhere with his name under it—Political Action Committee, and a full page stating how the organization was to be set up.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you protest against the political activities within the local?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, Conner came to me and asked me if I would help him to organize this political activity in the yard. I told him that while I did not believe in a union entering into politics, it might be a good idea, of course, to go along and get as much help from your Congress as you could, without making commitments of any kind—open commitments.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is, commitments for candidates?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. For the union making any commitments as far as candidates were concerned. In other words, I felt that if you made commitments for the Democrats and the Republicans won, you are in a bad spot as a union, and I didn't like that, and I told him that I felt that it was Communist-controlled anyhow, and I wouldn't have anything to do with it because of that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was his reaction to that?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, he said that he was not a Communist—but they all say that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You protested both the political activity and what you thought was Communist control?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Not only that, but the allotment of \$1,000 from the treasury for political action at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did your local vote \$1,000 for political activity?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, yes, they did; but in such a manner that very few of the members knew that they were even voting for any money to be given to anything.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How was it slipped over?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, usually the president would get up and start leading off with the business agent's report. The business agent would get up and give his report, and inject into the report certain recommendations, of which this particular item was one, \$1,000 for political action. When he got through with his report, one of the gentlemen in the group would get up and make a motion to accept the business agent's report, and there you have it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, that was just one item mentioned by the business agent, and when his report was accepted that was taken as a voting of \$1,000?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask there, when the business agent read off the list of things that had to be paid, did it appear that this \$1,000 had already been spent, or was just to be spent at some future date for political activity?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, the \$1,000 had been allotted prior to the recommendation by the business agent. Whether any of it had been spent at the time the business agent made the recommendation I do not know, but the membership voted to accept his report, and the \$1,000 was in that.

Mr. THOMAS. What did he term it? What did he call it?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. A recommendation by the executive board.

Mr. THOMAS. I mean the \$1,000 item. What did he call that?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. For political action.

Mr. THOMAS. Was it a written report? Did he make a written report?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, he usually got up with a piece of paper in his hand, and he would read from this paper, and, of course, the secretary would take it down and it was in the minutes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that in October of 1943, or later?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. It was perhaps after Conner was made chairman of the Political Action Committee, some time after that, I would say, perhaps a month later.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, in March of this year your local put on a political rally at the Fifth Armory?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you tell us what happened in connection with that political rally?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, that was also made in the business agent's report. However, this meeting was so badly broken up that it was postponed until the following week. At the next meeting the business agent wanted the membership to vote on the part of the report that he had given the previous Sunday; however, at that time we had a majority and we voted him down on that. We wanted it brought up,

item by item, and again, as usual, the very same thing would happen; some guy that could get up and make a long-winded speech and discuss everything, then another one would get up, and then finally you would have just a mere handful of people there, and then they would put over their motions, at which time \$1,750 was voted by the membership to pay 50 percent of the expenses for the rally to be held at the Fifth Regiment Armory. The other 50 percent was to be underwritten by the various other C. I. O. locals in the port. However, I believe that the membership was very badly misled, those that were still left there, anyhow, because they called it a "Back the Invasion" rally. Here are some of the people that were at the rally [presenting a newspaper clipping].

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you say they were misled because it was called a "Back the Invasion" rally. What was it actually?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. In my opinion, it was a political rally. They were supposed to have had Henry Wallace, Philip Murray, and several other well-known political speakers there; however, they didn't even show up.

I have here a piece in one of the other shipyard papers, where they were supposed to underwrite a portion of the expenses for this rally, and here is a notice in the Sparrows Pointer of June 23, 1944, which reads—do you want me to read this?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. This reads:

NOTICE.—Local 33 denies any responsibility for any indebtedness that may exist as the result of the "Back the invasion" rally held on March 26, 1944, at the Fifth Regiment Armory. This local did not contribute financially to the rally, nor did it take any part in sponsoring, supervising, or directing the rally, nor did this local at any time give its consent or indicate that it would participate in the rally in any manner whatsoever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is from the Sparrows Pointer, which is the official organ of one of the locals of the Industrial Union of Marine Shipbuilding Workers?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Local 33.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your local is 43?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many persons, approximately were present at your membership meeting in your local when the \$1,750 was voted to underwrite this rally?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, at the beginning of the meeting, I would say that there were about 1,000 people present, but after some of these fellows got through making their speeches I would say there was only a couple of hundred.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, are you sure that it was deliberate tactics on the part of the Communists to wear down the members and cause them to leave until they had a majority of their own people present and then vote the measures?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is worked all the time?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Not only that but we have also had times when we had a majority and the meeting would get started and all of a sudden the lights would go out in the hall, and no one would know anything about it, no one would know how to fix it. Finally some of us that were mechanics would go downstairs and find that a fuse had

been taken out. Then we would have to run around and look for a fuse and take up 15 or 30 minutes doing that. By the time we got the lights on half the people had gone. No one wants to sit around in a crowded room without any lights on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But the Communists always stayed?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes; they were always there, definitely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And out of a total membership of approximately 15,000 you say only about 200 were present when the \$1,750 were voted for the March 26 rally?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that Vice President Wallace and Philip Murray were among the speakers announced for the rally, and they didn't appear?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did John Green appear as a speaker?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I was not at the rally, but from the newspapers he was there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Philip Van Gelder also there?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I do not remember whether he was there or not. I was not at the rally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is John Green the international president of your union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is Philip Van Gelder the secretary-treasurer of your union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. He was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he still?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, he is still secretary-treasurer of the union, but someone else is taking his place at this time, Johnnie Grogan.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Matthews, I would like to ask a question there. Did the other union put in a like amount, \$1,750?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Then the rally cost \$3,500?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. How could they spend that much money? Where did they put the \$3,500?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. They got a hall. I wanted to bring out the fact that the hall was rented before the money was voted on by the membership.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what the rent was?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No; I just don't know what the rental of the hall was. It was a lot of money.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You think it was the larger part of \$3,500?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the rest of it used for, handbills and throw-aways?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. There was nothing at the rally that anyone paid for. Everything was free, music, and there was no admission.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did they have a brass band?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. They had a couple of bands there.

Mr. THOMAS. It looks like they spent the \$3,500, all right.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. They must have spent the \$3,500 all right, because here is something here in the Baltimore Sun, the picture of some

Junior Rangers who are picketing the C. I. O. Political Action Committee offices in Baltimore because they didn't pay their bus fare. These boys acted as ushers and the bus was chartered for them, and they went to the rally and were returned, and the Political Action Committee was to take care of the expense.

Mr. THOMAS. Was this rally under the auspices of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. It was not under the auspices of your local union or anything like that? It was under the auspices of the Political Action Committee?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. It was under the auspices of the Political Action Committee. They sponsored the thing and they carried it on.

Mr. COSTELLO. Were the Junior Rangers ever reimbursed for that bus fare?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I personally could not say, but I know there was enough noise made about it that they should have been paid if they weren't, because after all they were only kids.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let us get straight on that.

Mr. COSTELLO. The rally took place on March 26, 1944?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This copy of the Evening Sun is dated June 10, 1944, and there is a picture here of the Junior Rangers picketing the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, which means that 2½ months at any rate had elapsed without the Junior Rangers being paid for their bus fare to and from the armory?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With whom did the Junior Rangers have their agreement for their services as ushers at the meeting?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I believe the paper states that the agreement was made with Powers, a fellow by the name of Powers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. The paper there states that the Junior Rangers had an arrangement with George Powers. Did you ever meet George Powers personally?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did George Powers work at the shipyard?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what George Powers' real name is?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever heard what his real name is?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, George Powers was a witness before this committee in, it must have been 1940—the record will show the exact date—at which time I think the committee was not in possession of Powers' real name. We did know that he had been arrested in Georgia for treason, under the name of Morris Powers, and we later ascertained that he had come to this country under the name of Morris Poberski. At the time he was a witness before this committee he was secretary of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh. May I ask Mr. Stripling, is he one of those cited for contempt?

Mr. STRIPLING. He is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is one of those whose case is still pending after more than 4 years in the courts, for contempt of the committee. Ap-

parently he went to work at the Bethlehem-Fairfield plant in Baltimore and had something to do with the arranging of this Political Action Committee meeting, then when the rally was over he suddenly disappeared from the plant. Is that correct?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I read it in print.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no reason to suppose that he is still employed at the plant at present?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. He is not employed at the plant now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are sure he is not employed at the plant? The Baltimore Sun states that apparently he has returned to his position as secretary of the Communist Party in Pennsylvania. We have the criminal record of Powers in some detail in the files of the committee—that is, Poberski, alias Powers. What official title, if any, in the union did Powers have?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I think when he finally left the yard he was shop steward of the burning department.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Shop steward of the burning department? That is an official of the union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Oh, yes.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask this question? How long was he employed there?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I could not tell you exactly, but I would say anywhere between 9 and 10 months.

Mr. THOMAS. Just as soon as he put on this big rally he left?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I offer for inclusion in the record as an exhibit the crime record of Mr. Powers, from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, headquarters, Pennsylvania State police.

Mr. COSTELLO. Without objection, it will go into the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you find out that Powers was a Communist while he was working at the plant?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, you could not really find out, only by his association with others whom we thought were Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You didn't know about his public record as a Communist at the time he worked in the plant? Is that the fact?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No, I never knew anything about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You simply observed his activities and concluded that he was a Communist on that basis, rather than on the basis of the public record?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I never knew his public record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. His public record is a very long one, going back to at least 15 years, beginning in Minneapolis. He was also a Communist Party organizer in the South for a number of years, when he was arrested and tried on charges of treason in the State of Georgia. He was also arrested in the States of North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. When he was before this committee he testified that although he was a grown man when he entered the United States, he didn't know what name he had when he came into the United States. We have since ascertained that that was Morris Poberski, although he claimed at the time he had forgotten what his real name was.

You don't know whether the Junior Rangers have been paid for their claim as yet, or not?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. The last I heard, they had not been paid.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was their claim something in the amount of \$75?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For services as ushers at this rally?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say you were not present at the rally yourself. Did you have reports concerning what transpired at the rally?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, I really was not interested in the rally, although I took a minor part in some of the details, because of various things that the committee wanted at the rally, such as burner equipment, welding equipment—in fact, some part of the keel of a ship, so that the riveters could put on a show for them, and a letter was sent to the vice president and general manager of the Bethlehem Steel Co. at Fairfield, for this stuff. He in turn turned it over to the Victory Production Committee, of which I was secretary at that time, and we helped them to get this various material, in order to put on their show. Tom Conner, of course, was at that meeting when it was arranged to get this equipment.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As the result of your conclusion that the Communists were exercising undue influence in the union, in your local, and also that the local was being turned into a political organization to some extent, did you resign your membership in the union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that the sole ground on which you opposed the union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes. And another thing, one of our members in trying to uphold the policy of the C. I. O. which was set down in the national constitution got up and tried to pass a motion to uphold Americanism. This is the motion. May I read it?

Mr. COSTELLO. Yes.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. It is very short.

That local 43 go on record stating that we, the members of Local 43, I. U. M. S. W. A., intend to uphold the constitution of our union and the wishes of our ninth national convention, and will stand for only one ism, and that is Americanism.

The reason that this particular motion was put on the floor was because of the fact that Communists were holding top offices in our local and we felt that, due to the fact that Irving Velson had been expelled as a member of the Industrial Union for being a Communist at the eighth national convention, or possibly the ninth national convention, we wanted this motion put before the membership so that the constitution of this union, of the international union, would be carried out. This motion on Americanism was voted down. That is when we decided we didn't want any part of it any more, even if it did cost us our jobs.

Mr. COSTELLO. And the 44 resigned after that?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know approximately how many members of your local 43 were present when the Americanism motion was voted down?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, again I will state that there were approximately 1,000 or 1,200 people at the meeting, and again, when this thing was voted down there were, maybe, 180 or 200 people present, just a mere handful.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the beginning of the meeting there were 1,000 or 1,200 present, but by the time the vote came on the Americanism motion, only 180 or 200 were present?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir. This will bear out probably something that I just stated in Velson's case. This is taken from the Daily Worker:

The morning session approved a resolution seeking the rehabilitation of Irving Velson, of New York, a former member of the union's executive board, who was removed from office a year ago on a report of a subcommittee of the board charging him with being a Communist. Under the union's constitution no Communist may hold office in the organization. As a consequence of this removal from the general executive board, Mr. Velson was deprived of his office as president of the equipment local union. The resolution urged the general executive board to review Mr. Velson's case.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Velson reinstated by the international executive board?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Not yet; but they want to, according to this.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are trying to reinstate him at the present time?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. They are trying to get that clause—in fact, they have taken that clause out of the constitution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was that taken out? At the most recent convention?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes. Here it is. This is dated at Atlantic City:

A recommendation of the convention's appeals committee was unanimously passed, directing the incoming general executive board to review the case of Irving Velson, former board member and president of the Brooklyn local 13, who was removed on invocation of the anti-Communist clause in the I. U. M. S. W. A. constitution. That clause, adopted in the confusing pre-Pearl Harbor days, barred Communists from holding office. It has been a dead pigeon in recent months.

That is also from the Daily Worker.

Mr. COSTELLO. However, you do have Communists holding office in the union, in spite of that provision of the constitution. They tell you it was a "dead pigeon" long ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what the attitude of John Green, the international president, has been toward the Velson case?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, I was at the convention last year when Velson was expelled by the convention. They upheld the recommendation of the general executive board to expel him. Johnny Green at that time, as well as now, I imagine, has never come out definitely for communism, but he certainly is playing ball with them, and so are a whole lot more of the ranking international officers of the shipbuilding industry union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. John Green, international president of this union, is a member of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, and has some Communist-front connections of his own.

What was this about buttons being sold for a dollar to the members of your local?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. The shop stewards in the yard, who are going along with the Political Action Committee, are selling buttons for a dollar, "Back Roosevelt." The steward will come up to one of the men in his department and show him the button, on the button it says "One Dollar," I believe. I never looked at it real closely. You give

him a dollar and you get a button. If you don't give him a dollar you don't get the button.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you get a receipt for the dollar? [Laughter.]

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. You get a button as a receipt. I would say if you get a button and you get into trouble, the shop steward will probably go all out for you, and perhaps if you don't have a button—well, it is just another case.

Mr. MATTHEW. Now, do you know whether or not the local to which you belonged, local 43, has been lax in paying the \$1 expected from each member for the Political Action Committee?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I don't know how lax they have been in that respect, because I haven't been up to any of their meetings since I resigned, but I do know that they were assessed \$7,000 by the national office for political action.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you heard of a telegram sent by Sidney Hillman to John Green, to the effect that the \$7,000 due from local 43 had not been paid?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No, I didn't hear about any telegram of that sort being sent to local 43, but I do know that \$2,000 of the \$7,000 was paid, and then they stopped. I believe even the few members that still attend the meetings are against that, and they stopped it for that reason.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, that telegram referred to local No. 9. Where is local No. 9? Is that in Camden?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Local No. 9? No, I don't know.

Mr. THOMAS. How large an assessment do you have?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I would say that at one time they were paying a per capita tax to the Maryland-District Industrial Council on 20,000 membership, which, of course, would mean a good many dollar and a quarters a month. However, we took that up one time when we didn't think we could have representation by this council, and we found that the Maryland and District Industrial Council was getting paid a per capita tax on 20,000 membership, and the International was being paid on 10,000.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the executive secretary of the Maryland-District of Columbia Industrial Union Council?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Sidney Katz.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that K-a-t-z?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The committee files show quite a Communist record for Sidney Katz, and various committee reports have indicated that he unquestionably is a Communist.

Mr. THOMAS. What well known Communist-front organization does he belong to?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Mr. THOMAS. American Peace Mobilization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not sure. I think there was testimony that he had participated in the American Peace Mobilization, but I would have to check on that, Congressman.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I would say, continuing along that same line, that there was at one time a membership of between 18,000 and 20,000, and then when the maintenance of membership clause went in, every-

one had to pay those dues or they were checked off every month. There was quite a bit of money going into the union, anywhere, I would say, over a couple of years, between \$15,000 and \$25,000 a month, and I don't think their treasury will stand even this \$5,000 balance that they owe to the Political Action Committee now.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what balance the local has, what bank balance the local has?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No, I could not tell you that. I know that it is very small.

Mr. THOMAS. It is very small?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Congressman Thomas, according to the Daily Worker of May 3, 1940, which was the period of Peace Mobilization, Sidney Katz made a speech in which the Daily Worker reported him as follows:

A strong condemnation of Roosevelt's concern for democracy abroad and his betrayal of democracy in America featured the speech of Sidney Katz.

At the gathering which he addressed on May 1, 1940, he went on record, according to the Daily Worker, as follows:

Announced determination to oppose the administration's war drive.

Which is indicative of the fact that at that particular time the Communist Party and Katz were in the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Mr. THOMAS. Right along this financial situation, Mr. Blumenfield, what is the reaction of the rank and file of the union toward assessments levied by the P. A. C.?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. They don't like it.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you say a majority of the rank and file do not like it?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No, sir; they do not like it, any more than the group that resigned, because we felt that—and I think I am speaking for the majority of the men in the yard—they felt that they didn't want anyone to tell them how to vote and who to vote for.

Mr. THOMAS. But they do not like the assessment? Is that true?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That's right.

Mr. COSTELLO. Just how is this money that the union takes in every month expended? You say at the present time you doubt if they could write a check for \$5,000, after taking in \$15,000 or better every month. How does the union use up all that money?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That has always been a mystery to most everyone that ever took the trouble to find out. Every so often they would read off the financial report, and in there they would name various items that they would spend money for, so much to the international for per capita tax, so much for this thing and this thing, and finally they would get down to the end and say "Miscellaneous, \$2,000." Nobody knew who "Miscellaneous" was.

Mr. COSTELLO. The members were never given any full detailed statement as to the disposition of the funds?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. They would get up and read off a statement, and that's all.

Mr. COSTELLO. And the statement was not very meaningful, as far as expenditures were concerned?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Several times we tried to question the statement on various items, what the money was spent for, why so much

was spent, and there would always be some sort of disruption take place, and the meeting would have to be adjourned. In fact, most of our meetings were adjourned without very much business being transacted.

Mr. COSTELLO. There was a deliberate attempt to break up the meeting whenever anything distasteful would come up?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you think the rank and file of the C. I. O. throughout the country is some day going to demand an investigation of this whole question?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, we were kind of in hopes that that would have taken place a long time ago, because of the fact that—I don't know whether you people are interested in it or not, but here is a case here where 44 men have resigned from the union because they did not like the way the union was being run and by whom it was being run and how the finances were being squandered for purposes other than union purposes, and this group was always good union men, and in my opinion still are. I know I am.

Mr. THOMAS. But you are only a small minority, a small section of the whole. Don't you think, however, that you reflect the sentiment of the majority of the rank and file of the union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I certainly do, yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. At the present time are these 44 men still employed by the company in the shipyard?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir, but I know that an order has been issued to the Bethlehem Steel Co. to appear in Washington—rather, by the Shipbuilding Commission—to appear here in Washington to show cause why these 44 men should not be deprived of their jobs.

Mr. COSTELLO. Is the money being deducted from your pay check to pay the monthly dues to the union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Not any more, no sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. Under the union maintenance clause it will be incumbent upon the company to discharge you the minute you drop your membership in the union? Is that correct?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. You can't drop your membership in the union.

Mr. COSTELLO. Once you become a member of the union, under that clause you must remain permanently a member? Is that correct?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. But you lose all freedom of action once you join the union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the date of the resignation of these men from the union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I don't recall the exact date, but it was in March.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have any of the group been expelled by the union since they offered their resignations?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir, the entire group was expelled. They were sent letters to appear before the trial board because of violating section something, number so and so, which I think we might have around here if you care to hear it, which covers a multitude of sins. They could probably hang you on it if they wanted to.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We will have another witness, I think, who will bring that out presently.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. And those men, those few who did show up at this trial, their case was postponed, and the rest of them that didn't show up were found guilty and expelled from the local.

I have here a piece from the Shipyard Worker of May 26, listing the 44 men who resigned, and I will read it, if I may. It is a short paragraph.

Brother McManamon warns all members of the I. U. M. S. W. A.—C. I. O. to be on the lookout for individuals in this group who might seek employment in yards under their jurisdiction, since their disruptive campaign has begun to peter out.

Mr. COSTELLO. Once you lose employment where you are now, if you are barred from the union, you can never get into any other union-controlled shipyard?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That's right.

Mr. THOMAS. All these men are expert in their own line?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Offhand I would say that every one of them is a first-class mechanic.

Mr. THOMAS. It doesn't make any difference, however, whether they are first-class mechanics or not, the goons will get them if necessary.

Mr. COSTELLO. Under the present laws, under this union maintenance clause, once a person joins a union, from then on he must remain a union member in good standing or forever lose his right of employment in any union-controlled factory?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And there is an effort to blackball these men throughout the United States? Is that correct?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct. I might say that in my own particular case, after I was expelled from the local, I tried to ship out through the N. M. U., and Jim Drury told me that I had as much chance of shipping out as I had of winning the Irish Sweepstake, and I had a license as a deck engineer, and our Government needed skilled men to man these ships, but that didn't make any difference, which shows you to what extent they are going to go in order to keep these men from not only keeping their jobs but getting reemployment elsewhere.

Mr. COSTELLO. Regardless of the help you may have given to organize the union, one of the leaders of it, if you run afoul of the Communist group that wants to assume control and take over, from then on you are deprived of the opportunity of gaining a livelihood under these conditions?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. You don't think that condition should be allowed to prevail in this country, do you?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Definitely no.

Mr. COSTELLO. You think that if a man has a trade he should be able to exercise it effectively, should be entitled to find work for himself, if he can?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I think he should.

Mr. COSTELLO. If this condition continues as it is now and spreads through all industries throughout the country, you would be completely deprived of the opportunity of ever being able to get employment. Is that correct?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. You don't think that is quite in keeping with American tradition?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I don't think it is constitutional, myself. I am not a lawyer, but I don't think it would be constitutional to deprive a man of his right to a livelihood.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you heard that that is characteristic of a Nazi and Fascist society?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I think so. In other words, if you don't follow their line you are just out of luck.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this case to come up in the next few days?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. The case comes up before the Shipbuilding Commission this coming Monday.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you happen to know Lucien Koch?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether Lucien Koch is one of the men before whom your case will come?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I understand he is on the Shipbuilding Commission.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, Lucien Koch is a member of the Shipbuilding Commission of the War Labor Board, before which the case of these men at Bethlehem-Fairfield will come. Lucien Koch was a witness before this committee about a year and a half ago. It was established at that time that he has been president of the Communistic College of the Commonwealth at Mena, Ark., and had various other evidences of Communist record. He is one of the men before whom this case will come for decision during the next few days. Furthermore, Koch himself was an official of your union, was he not?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What position did he hold in Local 43?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, the first time I met him he was a national organizer, and then he became director of the port.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he went from that position to a Government position on the War Labor Board?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where he is a commission member of the Shipbuilding Division.

Mr. COSTELLO. Did you have any opportunity to protest his sitting on that board, in view of the fact that he had been previously an officer of your union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. None of us have had any opportunity to protest in any manner. The case was taken before a Mr. Charles Tillingsworth, who was an arbiter, and he decided that we were guilty, and ordered us fired.

Mr. COSTELLO. Did you present any testimony at that time?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. You were not given any opportunity to do so?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. What evidence did he have before him?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I don't know. I think the company, the union, and the arbiter sat down and fixed up the details of the thing, and he made his decision.

Mr. COSTELLO. The persons involved were not brought before him at all?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. The decision was made entirely in their absence?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That's right. Now, since the company hasn't followed out Mr. Tillingsworth's decision, the Shipbuilding Commission now wants them to show cause why they haven't fired these men.

Mr. THOMAS. Have any representatives of the International Labor Division or the American Civil Liberties Union gotten in touch with you to help you out?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Not that I know of.

Mr. THOMAS. I expect that would be right in their line, Mr. Matthews. [Laughter.]

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Unfortunately, we work for a living, and we don't have the time to go out and solicit funds for these things, where these people get their money. I don't know how they get it, but they always have it, and they always have the lawyers and what not, and they generally run things pretty much their own way. We can't do that. We don't know anything about these various Government agencies that protect people like ourselves.

Mr. THOMAS. Those two organizations that have always bragged about how they tried to help, tried to protect civil liberties, now we will see what they are going to do in your case.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. This case, unfortunately, comes up Monday, so we don't have much time.

Mr. EBERHARTER. How long have you been a member of the Marine and Shipworkers Union, Mr. Blumenfield?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I would say almost since I went into the yard, almost since I went to work in the yard.

Mr. EBERHARTER. When was that?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. In November of 1941.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Nearly 3 years?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. During that period of time you helped to draw up the terms of the contract between the union and the owners of the yard, the operators? I think you testified to that effect earlier here in your testimony.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I think I stated that the membership has to pass on all contracts, everything in the contract before it is sent to the negotiator.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Didn't you say that you helped to draw up the contract that was signed?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I don't think I said I helped to draw it up.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Well, did you?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I don't think so. If I did, it was probably an overstatement.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Did you have anything to do with the drawing up of the contract?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You believe in the sanctity of contracts, don't you?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes; certainly.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You said that was one of the main things you wanted in the contract with the operators at all times. Is that right?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is right.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You knew the maintenance clause was in the contract?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You believed in it all the time?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I did not believe in the maintenance of membership.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You never protested against it, did you?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes; I did.

Mr. EBERHARTER. When?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. At union meetings.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Is that on record?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I would think it would be in the minutes of the meetings; yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. When did you protest against it?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, at the time they wanted to install it in the contract, and when the contract was—before the contract was negotiated between the company and the union, when it was placed before the membership.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You believe in majority rule, don't you?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes; if it is a majority.

Mr. EBERHARTER. A majority of the union membership voted to have that maintenance-of-membership clause in the contract, and you were willing to go along with it?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I tried to bring out that the majority never ruled at local 43. It was always a controlled minority who stayed when the majority left, and passed these bills.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Well, then, the majority, if they didn't stay there, they assented to it by default. Is that correct.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Therefore, all of the membership was bound by any contract which contained this maintenance-of-membership clause?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. They are.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And that is what you believe in, isn't it, the rule of the majority?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. EBERHARTER. When did you find out that there were communistic elements in this particular union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, I think I stated that while the yard was in a state of organization there were Communists within the union, but as long as they didn't inject their communistic activities into the local, we were satisfied.

Mr. EBERHARTER. When did you decide to object to this?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. When they began to inject their communistic activities into our local.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I thought you said previously that the only thing you objected to was their entering into politics, political activities.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Oh, no, I objected to communism, too. I think I said so.

Mr. THOMAS. That is a fair statement.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You said you objected to communism?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Oh, yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You resigned from the union in March 1944?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is right.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What form did that resignation take?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. It was in the form of a printed leaflet.

Mr. EBERHARTER. A printed leaflet?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And your name was signed to it. How many other names were signed to it?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Forty-three besides my own.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And how many leaflets were printed?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I wouldn't know.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You had something to do with the printing of the leaflets, didn't you?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No, I had nothing to do with the printing of the leaflets.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Where were the leaflets distributed?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. At the yard.

Mr. EBERHARTER. To all of the workers in the yard?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. How many workers were there in that yard?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. At that time I would say, at Fairfield shipyard—well, they had approximately 45,000 working at the yard at its peak, but I don't know how many they had at that time. I would say somewhere in the vicinity of between 35,000 and 40,000.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Then 35,000 or 40,000 leaflets were distributed to these workers, showing your resignation along with these other 43 members of the union?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I said before, I don't know how many leaflets were distributed, but there were plenty of them distributed.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Well, it wouldn't be an unfair statement to say that one-third of the 35,000 were printed, would it?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I wouldn't suppose so.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Isn't that a good deduction, a fair deduction? Do you think that was helping war production?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I think that if you will look up the record of these 44 men you will find that they have helped production in that yard more than they have ever hindered it.

Mr. EBERHARTER. In other words, out of 30,000 or 40,000 workers, there were 34 that were dissatisfied? Is that correct?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I wouldn't say that there were only 34, because—

Mr. EBERHARTER (interposing). Well, 44.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. It so happened that some time after our resignation there were some people who decided that they no longer wanted any part of the C. I. O., and decided that they would try to get the A. F. of L. into the yard, and there were some 14,000 or 15,000 cards signed by the workers in that yard, stating that they wanted another organization to represent them rather than the C. I. O.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And this other organization was the A. F. of L. organization?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. So there was jurisdictional friction there to a certain extent? Is that correct?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Isn't that the cause of the trouble?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. The cause of what trouble?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Well, you say there was dissatisfaction down there.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. But there has never been any trouble in the yards, as far as production is concerned. Isn't that what you are talking about?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Yes; production.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. There has never been anything to hinder production. There isn't anything that anyone can say in that yard, or the union officials—they might say it, but there isn't anything they can prove where these 44 men hindered production.

Mr. EBERHARTER. That can be said of all the workers in the shipyard there, that in spite of any trouble in the union or between themselves personally, it had nothing to do with production, and they were doing as much as they possibly could.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I think so.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And the record of that company is one of the outstanding records of the country.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. EBERHARTER. They won the Navy award.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Now, you say there were about 15,000 in the general membership, and at many of the local meetings not more than 1,000 attended?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. EBERHARTER. So, evidently the 14,000 must have been satisfied with the way the union was being run. Wouldn't you say that?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No; I would not. I would say that during the course of the organization of the union most everyone who was a member of the union attended their meetings at one time or another, but would never come back again.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Was official business transacted at the meeting?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes; there was.

Mr. EBERHARTER. If 1 out of 15 attended the meeting, you couldn't say they didn't attend because they objected to the business transacted at the meeting.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I think, if you know anything about unions, you will find that only about 1 out of 10 union men ever attend their union meetings at one time.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Something like a fraternal organization?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Probably; yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. That is a general fact.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. That is true of a lot of organizations.

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You never advocated any strike there?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No; I was secretary of the victory production committee in that yard.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You never heard of anybody else advocating any strike there?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You never heard of any of these Communists advocating a strike?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Now, you resigned in March, did you?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Offhand I don't recall the date, but it was some time in the latter part of March.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Was it before or after the rally?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I would say it was—it might have been before the rally. It was some time between that last meeting on Americanism, when Americanism was voted down and the time that the rally took place.

Mr. EBERHARTER. But you helped to promote the rally, didn't you?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, I was practically—I wasn't forced to it, but I was still a member of the union, and as I said before, I am still a union man at heart, and I carried on my job, finished my job as long as I was a member. After I resigned my position I had no more to do with any part of the functions of the local.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Your resignation wasn't given on the spur of the moment, was it?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, I can only speak for myself.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Yes, of course. Was your resignation given on the spur of the moment?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I wouldn't say so; no.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You had been thinking it over for a while?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Yet you helped to promote this rally?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I did not help to promote the rally. The only thing I did was when these things that Tom Conner wanted at the rally were turned over to the Victory Production Committee, he stated what he wanted and I didn't object to it. I could have said "No; we don't need it."

Mr. EBERHARTER. You could have said "no"?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You were at perfect liberty to do that?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. That is right.

Mr. EBERHARTER. But you chose to go along and cooperate in this political meeting?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I did not cooperate. I simply didn't say—I didn't object to it, and the chairman of the committee perhaps took it for granted that the rest of the committee was satisfied with it.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Well, I will let your previous testimony stand, which I think is to the effect that you helped in your capacity on the executive committee, and the rally needed certain equipment and you helped to get it. Now, this was a local rally, and don't you believe that the expenses should be paid?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes, sir; definitely.

Mr. EBERHARTER. When was this allotment of \$1,000 made?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I should say soon after Conner was made chairman. I don't remember the exact date.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Was that this year?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No; that was last year.

Mr. EBERHARTER. To whom was this allotment of \$1,000 made?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Naturally, to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What committee?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. The Political Action Committee.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Of where? The National?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No; this—well, since then Conner has been made State director of the Political Action Committee for Maryland. At that time he was just chairman of the Political Action Committee of Local 43.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And you are definitely positive that an allotment of \$1,000 was made to the Maryland region in 1943?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I didn't say "Maryland region." I said it was made to Tom Conner, who was chairman of the Political Action Committee of Local 43.

Mr. COSTELLO. You don't know what he did with the money, do you?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. No; I do not.

Mr. COSTELLO. But that amount of money was turned over to Tom Conner to carry on this political action? That is all you know about it?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Don't you know, as a matter of fact, that the Political Action Committee of that local was not formed until April 30, 1944?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, if you want me to show you a Yard Bird with Tom Conners' name under it in the month of October, as chairman of the Political Action Committee—it will only take me a minute to get it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is the Fairfield Yard Bird of October 30, 1943 [indicating], and this shows Tom Conner chairman of the Political Action Committee.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Of what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of this Local 43.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Let me see that.

(Mr. Matthews handed the paper to Mr. Eberharter.)

Mr. COSTELLO. What month is that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. October 30, 1943.

Mr. COSTELLO. I think it was testified that the money was paid over in November 1943, or later.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Now, Mr. Chairman, I call attention to the fact that it says: "Tom Conner, Chairman, Legislative and Political Action Committee." There may be a distinction, although the point is not of much value.

Mr. COSTELLO. I don't think there is any need to quibble over words. All the witness stated here is that \$1,000 was allotted from the union treasury to political action in November or later. In other words, he said nothing about some specific political action committee or organization, but merely made the statement that that amount of money was taken from the union treasury for political action. He didn't make any statement in regard to the organization of the committee, the existence of the committee, or nonexistence of the committee. He merely made the statement, and for what purpose the money was going to be used he had no information.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Tom Conner was chairman of the Legislative and Political Action Committee, and we all know that the C. I. O.—Congress of Industrial Organizations—was also interested in legislation that they considered important to labor. However, as I said before, I don't think that the wording is very important. They maintain representatives here in Washington and other places to look after the interests of the union.

Mr. COSTELLO. The \$1,000 was to maintain a lobbyist in Washington?

Mr. EBERHARTER. It may have been.

Mr. COSTELLO. Do you believe that every union in the country should pay out a thousand dollars at frequent intervals in order to maintain a legislative lobby here in Washington for the C. I. O.?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Oh, Mr. Chairman, I have not said I believed anything of the sort.

Mr. COSTELLO. You are trying to explain how this thousand dollars is being used. Apparently it is being used for political purposes, for the Political Action Committee.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I asked the question when the words "Political Action Committee" were used, whereas the proper terminology to be used was as appears in the paper, Legislative and Political Action Committee.

Now, where were you employed, Mr. Blumenfield, before November 1941?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. At Sparrows Point.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And for how long were you employed there?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Almost a couple of years.

Mr. EBERHARTER. A couple of years? Before that were you a member of the union, then?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I was a member of the S. W. O. C.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And before that? Where was that?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Wilmington, Del.

Mr. EBERHARTER. For how long?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Just a short while.

Mr. EBERHARTER. How long?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. A few months.

Mr. EBERHARTER. A few months. And before that?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I was in business for myself.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Where?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. In Baltimore.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What kind of business?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Cigar business.

Mr. EBERHARTER. For how long?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. A few years.

Mr. EBERHARTER. For how long?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. Well, I don't see the need of that. I can go back into my past history as far as where I was employed is concerned.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Well, we want your record for the record here. We want the record of your employment and the record of witnesses before this committee has often covered their entire life, at least from the time they were 15 years of age up, so I would like to have your record of employment for the past 10 or 12 years, anyhow.

Mr. COSTELLO. In view of the fact that it might be somewhat difficult for the witness to obtain it, if you will prepare that for the committee and submit it to Mr. Matthews, that will be sufficient.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Chairman, I want to——

Mr. COSTELLO (interposing). I will say to the gentleman that the gentleman is not a member of this subcommittee and I will run this committee meeting; and I state to the witness that he can prepare the past history. That is evidently what you want, a detailed statement of his employment, and I don't intend to ask this witness to sit down here and give a 20-year review of his life, giving accurate details and places of employment. We didn't ask him for that when he was notified to appear here. We can't expect him to give it to us offhand, and I think it will be amply sufficient if he provides it for the committee. I will direct the witness to do that.

Mr. EBERHARTER. May I ask one more question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. COSTELLO. Ask your question.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Are you the Joseph Blumenfield who on March 22, 1934, was convicted on the charge of robbery and assault with a deadly weapon and sentenced to 10 years in an institution?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I think I will make all that clear in my detailed report.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You refuse to answer whether or not you are that Joseph Blumenfield?

Mr. BLUMENFIELD. I said I would make that clear in my report.

Mr. THOMAS. I want to make this observation to the gentleman from Pennsylvania. He never was so particular in asking this kind of detailed questions when the Japanese War Relocation Authority was before us about some of these Communists.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I am interested in bringing out the truth and facts. And I will say also that it has been customary on this committee, as I have just said, in order to have the background of the witness, to find out all we possibly can about it, in order to test his credibility, and in any court of law the question would be allowed.

Mr. THOMAS. This is not a court of law. You know that very well.

Mr. COSTELLO. Furthermore, the shipbuilding concern that was building ships for the United States Government in this war went into his record and were evidently satisfied with it, because they employed him.

Mr. THOMAS. There are a lot of people fighting now in the Army and Navy today that perhaps also have a past record that they would not have if they had it to do over again.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Do you contend that the witness is correct in refusing to answer the question?

Mr. THOMAS. I contend that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has no right to ask the question. He is only here by virtue of our accepting him as a guest anyway.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I sat on this same committee and we permitted you to ask all the questions you wanted to.

Mr. THOMAS. I never asked questions like the gentleman from Pennsylvania is asking this afternoon.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I only ask those questions because I want to get the facts.

Mr. THOMAS. I want to make another observation to the gentleman from Pennsylvania—I don't care whether you like it or not.

Mr. EBERHARTER. That is all right with me.

Mr. THOMAS. It has always been a mystery to me why the gentleman from Pennsylvania defends this kind of outfit like the Communist-front organizations, and then when the Japanese War Relocation Authority comes up, or something else, the gentleman from Pennsylvania takes an entirely different attitude.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Then you contend the witness is correct in refusing to answer?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't contend anything. That is for the chairman to decide.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Chairman, I will make one observation—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Don't bring out any smear observation or we will do a little smearing ourselves.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I am perfectly willing. This committee with its high-salaried staff is carrying on a sniping political campaign against the Democratic Party, and there isn't one well-informed Washington observer that wouldn't know that to be the fact.

Mr. COSTELLO. I will say in response to the gentleman that so far this committee has done no sniping whatsoever. The fact is that we have been merely presenting here concrete evidence, and the entire subject matter of the investigation at this moment is activity of the C. I. O. and the Political Action Committee, and during the course of this hearing, which we had planned to terminate, this particular phase of it, today, I think we have conclusively shown that the C. I. O. Political Action Committee is a hotbed of communism, that over 80 percent of the members of the committee have a Communist background which cannot be refuted, based exclusively upon the facts, taking the files of the committee and the witnesses who will appear before this committee. I don't think that is sniping. I think all that amounts to is presenting to the American public the true facts regarding who was running the Political Action Committee in the name of labor, and we have demonstrated here that it is not labor, that the personnel of that committee is not made up of labor people; it is made up of outsiders, many of whom have been released, unfortunately, from Government service to take their positions on the Political Action Committee, and that the people of this country are being led to believe that labor is leading a movement in this country to elect persons to this Congress whom they may designate progressives, when in fact a group of Communists is trying to subvert this Government and to take control of the Government, and I think this committee is doing a great piece of work in informing the American public of that situation. The gentleman from Pennsylvania may term it "sniping," but I don't think it is sniping in any sense of the word.

We had a witness here yesterday from Press Research, Inc., presumably an agency which is giving information to newspapers, research information. The witness admitted here that the information was not research at all, but in fact was the opinionated views of that organization which they were disseminating, and it was quite clear that that was a real case of sniping. If the gentlemen had been here he would have found that what they are doing is sending out sniping material and not sending out research material, as they

try to convey by the title. And I might say further to the gentleman that again that particular organization is made up of a personnel that is almost completely borrowed from the Federal Government—and I say “borrowed” in view of the fact that apparently these men are going to return to the Federal Government as soon as the campaign is over.

We are not sniping at the New Deal and not sniping at the administration, but I think we have a right to disseminate to the people of the United States the true facts regarding what the Communists are doing and what is going on in the country.

Mr. Matthews may call the next witness. We thank you, Mr. Blumenfield.

Mr. EBERHARTER. This committee is using the funds appropriated by Congress to employ a high-salaried personnel for a purpose which I think is highly improper, and as I said before, I think every informed observer in Washington will agree with me on that.

Mr. COSTELLO. I will say to the gentleman that the funds of this committee were appropriated to carry on the work of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities.

Mr. EBERHARTER. The funds were not appropriated for political campaign purposes.

Mr. COSTELLO. We are not conducting any political campaign whatsoever. We are investigating the subversive activities of the Political Action Committee. We are investigating their Communist background, and that is the purpose for which the funds have been appropriated by the Congress, namely, to investigate these subversive organizations. And, if the gentleman from Pennsylvania thinks that he can truthfully say, in view of the evidence that has been presented to this special subcommittee, that the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O. is not a Communist-front organization, then this Dies committee has never displayed to the country any Communist-front organization.

Call the next witness. Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will call Mr. DeGuardia.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I am willing to retire, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. COSTELLO. We are always glad to have any member of the full committee to sit in on the hearings. In fact, we are very glad to have them participate and ask questions.

TESTIMONY OF PETER DeGUARDIA, BALTIMORE, MD.

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Costello.)

Mr. COSTELLO. State your full name for the record, please.

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Peter DeGuardia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you live, Mr. DeGuardia?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. I live in Baltimore, Md., 3814 St. Vickery Street.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Approximately 3 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where are you employed at the present time?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Since February 9, 1942.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is approximately 2½ years? Is that correct?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During your employment at the Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyard were you active in Local 43 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what capacity were you active?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. I was on numerous committees. I have some clippings here [producing newspaper clippings]. I ran for president of local 43 approximately a year ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What committees did you serve on?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. At the time of my resignation I was on these various committees. I was shop steward of the shipfitting department, a grievance committeeman for the entire yard, co-chairman of the food committee, the campaign chairman sometime back in August of 1942, of which I was never taken off. I was organizing chairman on these various drives and a member of the bylaws committee that put up the bylaws, made the bylaws of the local.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you active in the formation of the union?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Well, the union was in existence at the time I came into the yard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In its infancy?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you solicit members for the union?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes, sir. I was put on—well, I came into the yard on February 9th. I was immediately contacted by one of the officers of the union to join the union, which I did immediately. Two weeks after that he ascertained that I was talking to the workers about joining the union, and he asked me if I would care to be a committeeman. I told him I would.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was this who was talking to you?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Whitey Goodfriend. He asked me if I would take the committeeman's job, which I did, and he give me the fundamentals of the union functioning. I went ahead and started signing up men. I soon came out in the limelight of the Yardbird, whereby statements had been put in that I was doing a grand job, and the statement was signed by the officers. A few weeks after that there was a vacancy in the shipfitting department, shop steward's category. I was asked to run for shop steward by Whitey Goodfriend, who was an officer of the local at the time.

I thought at that time I lacked the knowledge to carry on in such an important job as shop steward, because I felt there were 12,000 men in that department at that time to be represented, but nevertheless he kept on hammering for me to take the job. I told him, "You seem to know a lot about the union. Why don't you take the job, seeing that you are in the same department" because we were only allowed one shop steward in each department. Well, he told me that—and I quote—"You know I am a Communist, and so does everybody else in the yard. If I run my chances are lost. I am burned out in the yard, I am branded. But you have a clean slate. You are well liked

in the yard. I think you should be the man to run for shop steward." Well, he gave me a couple of talkings-to and very convincing stories. I went ahead and accepted the nomination at a meeting that was called of the S. E. department. The date of that I could not say, because I don't remember offhand. I was unanimously elected, and served about—well, I would say about two and a half years. Every year there is an election, and I was reelected the following year and re-elected for the following term.

While I was shop steward a few men came to me and became very chummy, taking me to all kinds of social parties and various committees around the city. I then learned that I was dealing with some Communists. I have here a list of names—I am getting ahead of my story. I was asked by Chester Albert and Whitey Goodfriend to join the Communist Party, and I told them I didn't know what the Communist Party was at the time, and I told them that I wasn't interested. They said "The only way that you will get anywhere in this yard is joining the Communist Party. We can do a lot for you."

Well, again I brushed them off, told them I wasn't interested, and he asked me why, and I told him I was a Catholic and I knew one thing, in spite of the fact that I didn't know anything about the Communist Party, I know that a Catholic cannot join the Communist Party. Well, he told me to think it over, and if I wanted to get anywhere in the yard he said, "You have a large following and you can get places in the party." There was a vacancy on the grievance committee, one member on the grievance committee, and he asked me if I would care to run, and he told me he was going to show me what power the Communist Party had in that yard by getting me elected. So I told him that I would very much like to get on the grievance committee, and he said he was going to submit my name for nomination.

Well, at the next meeting that we had, the next general membership meeting, my name was submitted by Johnnie Pinto, also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you spell that?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. P-i-n-t-o. My name was submitted by Mr. Pinto to this committee during the election that took place, and I was unanimously elected to serve on the committee. I was then contacted by Whitey Goodfriend, a trustee of the local; Sherwin Albert, who is chairman of the Victory Committee at the time; Dan Dribbitt, who was a committeeman in Outside Machinists; and these men told me that the party had done a fine job by having me elected to such an important committee. They told me that I should now realize what strength I had in the yard; that I could make a big name for myself, both in the union and also in the Communist Party. They wanted me to join the Communist Party, and again I refused, but this time I had told them—or they told me, "Either join the Communist Party or else." I asked him "or else what?" He says, "Well, if you don't join the Communist Party, we will see that you are ousted from office."

Then I felt there was nothing else to do but to play up to their game and find out what the Communist Party was all about. I told Mr. Goodfriend that I would let him know in a few days my answer and decision. Well, a few days later I was contacted by the same three men. They asked me if I had made up my mind. I told them again that I didn't know what the Communist Party was, but I would go

down the line with them, until I found out what it was all about, and I asked them if it would be all right to attend a few of their meetings before I became a member. He told me that he would have to talk to his committee and would let me know in a few days. A few days after that he came back and told me it was all right for me to attend the Communist Party meeting. I asked him where the meeting was going to be held, and he told me the meeting was to be held at Philip Grand's house, and gave me the address. I believe I have his address in my folder. I can give the committee that later on.

At this meeting these were the men that were there: Saul Shearer, who was at that time a committeeman of Local 43.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Spell the name.

Mr. DEGUARDIA. S-h-e-a-r-e-r. I would like to bring out that this man was arrested in the yard for sabotage by the F. B. I. There was a clipping in the paper about that. He was represented by Duke Avonette, a union-labor lawyer. I think there is a clipping here somewhere about him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was at this Communist meeting? Is that correct?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Saul Shearer?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes, sir. All these men that I am calling off now are men that were at this Communist meeting. Then there was Shadron Alberts. He was shop steward of the welding department. He was chairman of one of the most important committees in the yard, the Victory Production Committee. He is also a brother-in-law of this Saul Shearer that I just mentioned. I have a picture of Mr. Alberts here if the committee would care to see it.

I have here also Frank Linkezy. He was vice president of Local 43 at that time, and also a member of the Communist Party participating in this meeting.

I have also William Jorgensen. He was an officer of Local 43 in the trustee's category. I have here a picture of him also.

There was Thomas Aidlett, also an officer of Local 43, at this meeting. He is a colored man. I have a picture of him.

Whitey Goodfriend, an officer of Local 43, chairman of this meeting. I asked him what his category in the Communist Party was, and he said he was chairman of the Communist Party in Maryland. I have here a clipping that came in the paper shortly after he had left the yard, calling him a "typical American boy," by Elmer Davis, of the Office of War Information. This is the clipping here [producing a newspaper clipping].

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, the reference the witness is making now is from the Daily Worker of October 21, 1942, which has a picture of Whitey Goodfriend and a story about Whitey Goodfriend's selection by the O. W. I. as a typical American youth. The Daily Worker, under a picture of Goodfriend and four others, states as follows:

Young Whitey Goodfriend, center, is shown talking over with some other delegates to the Y. C. L. convention—

indicating quite clearly that the man was publicly known as a member of the Young Communist League.

The clipping that the witness had was taken out of the Baltimore Sun. The one I gave you, Mr. Chairman, is from the Daily Worker, approximately the same date.

You did not join the Communist Party? Is that correct?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They persisted in their efforts to get you to join it?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When they decided that you were not going to join, did they turn against you?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did they try to oust you from office?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No; they never tried to oust me from office, but they blackened my name through leaflets during the election campaign.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you ran for president of Local 43, how many votes did you get?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Well, offhand, I could not give you the exact figure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you elected?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By how many votes were you defeated?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. By 1,250 votes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Out of how many votes cast?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Approximately 4,000.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, you must have received something like eighteen or nineteen hundred votes?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Out of 4,000 cast?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Somewhere around 45 percent or better?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you continue your protest against the Communist control of the union as you observed it?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes, sir. After I found out what the Communist Party really was, after attending a few of their meetings, I knew that they were vicious; I knew exactly what they had planned to do.

They also stated at one of their meetings that they wanted a man on every local to control the local and its activities and functions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you also observe that the union was going in for political action?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Well, I was appointed chairman of—I have it here—chairman of the campaign committee, to campaign for Charles Swagel, who was at that time a business agent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was he running for?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. He ran for the house of delegates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the State of Maryland?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. The State of Maryland; yes. And I campaigned for Charles Swagel and Thomas D'Alesandro.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under instructions from your local?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Under instructions from my local.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was your committee known as the Political Action Committee?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No; it was not known as the Political Action Committee at that time, although they had made certain indications that they were going to go into politics and that this was the starting point of their political campaign.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall when Tom Conner was made chairman of the Political Action Committee?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. I know it was in the winter of 1943.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Last winter?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By "winter," would that be as early as October?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. It could be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not mean that technically speaking it was winter?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Technically speaking, it was in the fall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Prior to the setting up of the Political Action Committee in the local, do you know whether or not the union had a legislative committee?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. No; it didn't have a legislative committee at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Prior to the setting up of the Political Action Committee?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Prior to setting up the Political Action Committee there was no legislative committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you make any protest against the setting up of the Political Action Committee?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what form?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. In the form that Thomas Conner was given \$1,000, for one thing, without the consent of the membership. You see, I was a member of the bylaws committee, and I knew the bylaws of the local, and I also knew that no member can hold a job of responsibility unless he is a paid-up member in good standing for 6 months, and I knew that Tom Conner was not a paid-up member in good standing for 6 months. That was one of the reasons I fought political action. Also, I fought political action because our grievances were put in the back-ground and political action was put before our grievances. The reason I am bringing that out is that as the representative of my department I had submitted a few grievances. We have a grievance procedure, and the grievance procedure is: Step 1, with foremen and general foremen; step 2 will be taken up by the business agent, Mr. Parkinson, with industrial relations of Bethlehem; step 3 would be at a meeting called between the company and the union, at a designated place; and then step 4 was arbitration.

I had grievances that could not be dealt with in step 1, and I submitted their grievances on December 16, 1943, and up until now, up until the time of my resignation, I had not received any answer on those grievances. I felt that after going up to the union hall numerous times I asked what became of those grievances, and they always brushed me off by telling me they didn't have time to take care of them, that they would take care of them shortly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't mean that these were your personal grievances?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. No; grievances of men in the yard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which came through you?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were on the grievance committee?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you presented these, and did you feel that your grievances were ignored because you were not cooperating politically?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that what you are saying?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, participation and nonparticipation in political activity was used as a weapon over the men?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If they went along politically they got their grievances attended to; if they did not go along politically the grievances were ignored?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No; I would say that all grievances, the great majority of the grievances, were put in the background because they were planning for political action.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean they were too busy planning for political action, and didn't have time to carry on the business of the grievance committee?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes, sir. I can go on further to state that at the time we were trying to get our grievances settled Pete Fleezanis was running for the city council. He was the business agent of our local, and whenever we went up to see him he was either out of town or he was busy on his campaign, and our grievances were being neglected because he was the man to handle those grievances.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you joined this local and became active in it as an officer, did you understand that it was to be Communist-controlled?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you understand that it was to engage in political action?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you feel that you were misled?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That you had joined an organization which turned out to be something different from what it pretended to be?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. That's right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That it was, in fact, a Communist-controlled political organization parading as a trade-union?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you think that affects the question of maintenance of membership?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Well, I would say yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let me make the question a little more explicit. If you thought you were a member of a bona fide union, carrying on matters proper to trade-unions, would you accept the maintenance-of-membership clause in the contract more readily than if it turned out that this is a political, Communist-controlled organization?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No, sir; I never believed in maintenance of membership, and as a matter of fact I would condemn it. At the time I ran for president the maintenance of membership was in the yard, but it was not compulsory. I didn't care for maintenance of membership, and I never preached it in the yard, because I myself kept on paying my dues monthly, and I didn't have them take it out of my check, but when that became compulsory there was nothing for me to do but to have them take it out of my check, and that is what happened to the entire yard.

Mr. COSTELLO. You feel that even under good circumstances the union maintenance clause is not a desirable clause to have in any contract?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. That is right.

Mr. COSTELLO. Under bad circumstances, where you have communism, or politics, it is even worse to have that clause in there?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, did you resign from the union in June of this year, or March?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. I resigned on March 15, along with about 44 others.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that you are now subject to dismissal by the company?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Because of the maintenance clause in the contract?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does your case come before the War Labor Board next week?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. COSTELLO. Are there any other questions?

Mr. EBERHARTER. I have one or two questions.

Did you get any official paper to appear before the War Labor Board or the panel next Monday?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. How were you notified?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. We were not notified. I read it in the paper. We are not to appear.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think the situation is this, Congressman: The men have not been ordered to appear but the company itself has been ordered to show cause why it does not dismiss these men.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And what is the cause for dismissal stated in the official notification?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Because they are no longer members of the union. They have been expelled.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Well, is that from newspaper reports?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No, they received notification of expulsion from the union.

Mr. COSTELLO. They are not parties to this hearing?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; they are not parties to the hearing.

Mr. DEGUARDIA. We received notification from our local that we were expelled.

Mr. EBERHARTER. That you were expelled from the union.

Mr. DEGUARDIA. That's right.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I am interested in the cause for your appearance before the War Labor Board. I understand that the union has asserted it is because of the fact that you were a disruptive influence in the yard so far as production was concerned, and not the fact that you were not members of the union any more. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. I would first like to answer the question about being disruptive and hindering production in that yard. I, for one, have stopped numerous strikes in that yard because grievances were laying in the background. I have told the men to go back to work.

I went out all hours of the day and night to put the men back to work, telling them that I would have a fair, clear-cut understanding with the officers, and also the company officials, on the grievances. There was one time when four or five hundred men walked off the job on account of something that any labor leader didn't have anything to do with. A member of the supervisory force was terminated by the company. The men felt that the general foreman that was terminated was one of the best foremen they ever had to work for, and he was terminated, and they felt that if they went on strike, the company would reinstate this general foreman. When I heard about it I found four or five hundred men out in front of the ways, and I was their representative, and I asked them what they were doing off the job, and they told me that they were on strike because one of the general foremen was fired, and they were not going to go back to work until this general foreman was reinstated. Well, I told them I was going to contact head management, but in the meantime I could not contact head management because they would not deal if a strike was in progress, and I finally got them to go back, and I told them, I would have an answer for them in the latter part of the day, and they did go back. That was one strike that I know I helped to put off. These men went back to work willingly. And there were other strikes—wildcat strikes—that we had nothing to do with, but we helped to put the men back to work.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I want to say that I commend you for that attitude. I think that was the general attitude of all the recognized labor leaders there in the yard. They didn't want any of these wildcat strikes.

Mr. DEGUARDIA. That's right.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And the labor leaders there, the recognized, elected labor leaders—the fact is that you always tried to stop strikes?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes, sir. That is one thing that we posted in our local, and that was the no-strike pledge.

Mr. EBERHARTER. So, from that standpoint, organized labor did a good job in the Bethlehem-Fairfield yard?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. An exceptionally good job.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Now, you say you were chairman of this committee to help toward the reelection of one candidate for Congress and one candidate for the House of Delegates of Maryland?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. That's right.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You took an active part in that campaign to reelect them?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. That was just about the time the union became active in politics?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. Well, no. I stated before that political action was not in existence at that time.

Mr. EBERHARTER. It was not?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You were taking part in election activities for the union, and yet you say you objected to the forming of a regular political action committee?

Mr. DEGUARDIA. That's right, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What is the difference between the one and the other?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. I will tell you why. When I campaigned for Charles Swagel—

Mr. EBERHARTER (interposing). As chairman of the committee formed from the membership of the union?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. I was chairman of the campaign committee at that time. I campaigned for Charles Swagel because I felt that Charles Swagel had done a good job for labor, and also on account of the way it was put to me, that Charles Swagel would be a good man to have in the house of delegates for labor. At that time I did not know that the union was Communist-controlled. That was the case of Charles Swagel. I later went on a campaign for Pete Fleezanie. I didn't know that the local was controlled by Communists then. I found that out later on.

The reason I objected to the political action in Local 43, as I have stated before, was that our grievances were put in the background. Had they gone ahead and taken care of our grievances and worked on political action, as long as the Communists were kept out and they legitimately put up a good rank-and-file man for political activity, I would not have minded it a bit.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And these 44 men who signed this petition that was distributed by members of the yard force, they worked in the yard?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And couldn't they resign in any other way than just by signing and having that leaflet distributed?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. I don't think there is a better way to resign, sir. I put my name on that leaflet to prove to the men in the yard that I did not want to play dual unionism. I resigned completely, and when I resigned I wanted everybody to know that I had resigned and the reason why I had resigned. We have been fighting communism in that yard for 3 years—well, I haven't been in the yard for that long, but I know I have been fighting communism in that yard for at least 2 years.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Were you ever indicted?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You were never indicted?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You never served any time?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You are not afraid to answer that question, are you?

Mr. DeGUARDIA. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Thank you, Mr. DeGuardia.

Mr. COSTELLO. Are there any further questions?

Mr. EBERHARTER. That's all, thank you.

Mr. COSTELLO. Thank you, Mr. DeGuardia, for appearing before the committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think there are at least five others here who are members of this group. Mr. Chairman, that resigned jointly from Local 43 of the Union of Marine and Ship Workers, of the 44, and whose cases are involved in the order to show cause, issued by the War Labor Board to the Bethlehem-Fairfield Shipyard, but their testimony essentially would be cumulative.

Mr. COSTELLO. It might be well to have their names put in the record at this point as being present.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I think that would be well. Mr. Connolly, will you come forward, please?

STATEMENT OF FRANCIS J. CONNOLLY, BALTIMORE, MD.

Mr. COSTELLO. What is your full name?

Mr. CONNOLLY. Francis J. Connolly, 2630 Kirk Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. COSTELLO. What is your occupation?

Mr. CONNOLLY. I am an erector.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you employed at the Bethlehem-Fairfield yard?

Mr. CONNOLLY. Three years; over 3 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I believe that is all. Mr. Shriner, will you give your full name?

STATEMENT OF GEORGE B. SHRINER, BALTIMORE, MD.

Mr. SHRINER. George B. Shriner.

Mr. COSTELLO. And your resident address?

Mr. SHRINER. Eleven hundred and thirty-six Washington Boulevard, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. COSTELLO. What is your present occupation?

Mr. SHRINER. Shipping rigger.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You don't want any questions asked of these witnesses?

Mr. COSTELLO. Not unless the gentleman has some to ask. I understand they will simply corroborate statements already made, and it would only be a cumulative procedure.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Where did you formerly work?

Mr. SHRINER. I worked on the Baltimore City Fire Department.

Mr. EBERHARTER. When did you leave that employment?

Mr. SHRINER. I left there about 8 or 9 years ago; maybe 10 years ago.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What was the cause?

Mr. SHRINER. I resigned.

Mr. EBERHARTER. On request?

Mr. SHRINER. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Of your own volition?

Mr. SHRINER. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. No difficulty?

Mr. SHRINER. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You are not afraid to answer those questions?

Mr. SHRINER. No, sir; I am not afraid to answer anything, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Thank you.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That's all, Mr. Shriner. Mr. Uplinger?

STATEMENT OF RALPH S. UPLINGER, BALTIMORE, MD.

Mr. COSTELLO. Give your full name for the record.

Mr. UPLINGER. Ralph S. Uplinger, 1704 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. COSTELLO. Your present occupation?

Mr. UPLINGER. Shipfitter, Bethlehem-Fairfield.

Mr. COSTELLO. Any questions?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Have you ever been convicted in any court?

Mr. UPLINGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. How many times?

Mr. UPLINGER. Two times.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What was the first one?

Mr. UPLINGER. Robbery.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What was the sentence?

Mr. UPLINGER. I served 10 years.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What was the other conviction?

Mr. UPLINGER. That was back in 1929.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What was that charge?

Mr. UPLINGER. Robbery.

Mr. EBERHARTER. And you were sentenced?

Mr. UPLINGER. To a reformatory school; yes.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Those occurred in Maryland?

Mr. UPLINGER. That's right.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Were you ever convicted in West Virginia?

Mr. UPLINGER. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Were you ever in Wheat, W. Va.?

Mr. UPLINGER. Wheat, W. Va., is just a small place.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Have you ever been in a West Virginia jail?

Mr. UPLINGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Were you in that jail?

Mr. UPLINGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. On what charge?

Mr. UPLINGER. Driving while under the influence of whisky.

Mr. EBERHARTER. What was the term of that sentence?

Mr. UPLINGER. Four months and \$100 fine.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Is that all the convictions you can remember?

Mr. UPLINGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Thank you.

Mr. COSTELLO. How long have you been employed at the Bethlehem shipyard?

Mr. UPLINGER. Thirty-one months.

Mr. COSTELLO. What type of work did you say you are doing over there?

Mr. UPLINGER. Shipfitting.

Mr. COSTELLO. Have you ever had any complaint regarding the work you have done for the company?

Mr. UPLINGER. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. No charges have been brought against you?

Mr. UPLINGER. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. What has been your behavior record there?

Mr. UPLINGER. Good.

Mr. COSTELLO. Perfectly satisfactory?

Mr. UPLINGER. Yes, sir. They made a search when I went there, and I gave them my record. Nothing was held back.

Mr. COSTELLO. That is all.

Do you have any other witnesses present?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Mr. Dominick.

STATEMENT OF ANTHONY F. DOMINICK, BALTIMORE, MD.

Mr. COSTELLO. What is your full name?

Mr. DOMINICK. Anthony F. Dominick, 1213 Scott Street, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. COSTELLO. What is your occupation?

Mr. DOMINICK. Shipfitter.

Mr. COSTELLO. Are there any questions?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Were you ever indicted?

Mr. DOMINICK. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You are not afraid to answer that question?

Mr. DOMINICK. No, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. How long have you been employed over there?

Mr. DOMINICK. I was there just about 2½ years.

Mr. COSTELLO. Your work has been satisfactory, has it?

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. No complaints have been registered against you or the work you turned out?

Mr. DOMINICK. None whatsoever.

Mr. COSTELLO. Thank you very much.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Voldeck?

STATEMENT OF MICK VOLDECK, BALTIMORE, MD.

Mr. COSTELLO. Give your full name.

Mr. VOLDECK. Mick Voldeck, 809 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. COSTELLO. What is your occupation with the Bethlehem-Fairfield yard?

Mr. VOLDECK. Shipfitter.

Mr. COSTELLO. How long have you been with the company?

Mr. VOLDECK. Approximately 3 years.

Mr. COSTELLO. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania have any questions?

Mr. EBERHARTER. You come from West Virginia?

Mr. VOLDECK. Correct.

Mr. EBERHARTER. How long have you been in Baltimore?

Mr. VOLDECK. I have been in Baltimore for approximately 4 years.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Were you ever indicted?

Mr. VOLDECK. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You never served any time?

Mr. VOLDECK. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. You are not afraid to answer that question?

Mr. VOLDECK. No, sir.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Thank you.

Mr. COSTELLO. That will conclude this particular series of the hearings before the subcommittee that was appointed to look into this particular matter. The subcommittee will not prepare a special report on this phase of our hearings and will stand in recess to an unannounced date. When we are prepared to proceed further with the hearings we will do so, but will make an announcement at that time. The committee will now adjourn.

(Whereupon, at 4:20 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, to meet on call of the chairman.)



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